

VALIVITA SARANAṆKARA

A N D

THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON.

by

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<sup>is</sup>  
Thes~~e~~ presented  
for the Degree  
of Ph. D., in  
the  
University of  
London.  
1961

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### THE ABSTRACT

The intention of this thesis is to make a critical examination of the life of Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara and the revival of Buddhism during his time. As a background to the main theme, a short account of the political history of the Kandyan Kingdom (1473-1815 A.C.) is given. The most striking phenomenon of this period is the rapid decline of the Buddhist Order in spite of the efforts made by Vikramabāhu I and Vimaladharmasūrya I and II to revive it. The degeneration of both Fraternities, Grānavāsa and Vanavāsa, was so great that the upasampadā, twice introduced from Arakan, disappeared and subsequently there remained only a group of immoral monks. The causes for this decline - the political unrest, hostilities of Rājasīṅha I, the Roman Catholic influence, the caste system and the social upheaval caused by the Tamil immigrants who introduced various cults and occult practices - are discussed here in detail. Although Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara's life is generally known through the Saṅgharājavata and the Saṅgharājasādhucariyā, many facts hitherto unknown about his life have been revealed here with the aid of reliable manuscripts and historical documents. Whereas the



biographies of Sarapaṅkara, mentioned above glorify his personality, here in this thesis, it is critically examined. The death of Gascon and of Sarapaṅkara's teacher, and the rôle played by Gonzalvez in connection with that incident, not clearly understood up to now, have been explained in detail. The cultural relation between Siam and Ceylon is also discussed as it was at this time that the Upasampadā was re-introduced by the Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera, at the request of Sarapaṅkara. The religious and literary revival brought about by Sarapaṅkara and his chief disciples, how it spread throughout Ceylon and how far he was successful in his attempts to wipe out the rigid caste system, cults and occult practices and bring about a complete social and religious reformation, have been finally dealt with.

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Kandyan period is an era of political perplexity, social complexity and cultural poverty so that it has been marked as the Dark Age of Ceylon history. The only outstanding personality of this period was Vālivīṭṭa Saraṇaṅkara, the last Saṅgharāja of Ceylon who was the pioneer of the modern literary and religious renaissance in the island. This thesis is a detailed account of his time in general and his life in particular. Although the Saṅgharāja Sādhucāriyā and the Saṅgarājavata have dealt with his life to a certain extent, they are not critical and have only eulogised the merits of his life. It appears that some important characteristics and shortcomings of the Saṅgharāja have been completely omitted to glorify his personality.

### Sources.

This thesis is based on (a) unpublished manuscripts, (b) inscriptions, grants and letters (c) chronicles and published works and (d) periodicals.

(a) Manuscripts

Although more than 27 manuscripts have been consulted it is rather unnecessary and boring to give detailed accounts of each of them. Therefore I shall give introductions only to some manuscripts which are of great importance and shall discuss their authenticity.

Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya

This has been written by a person called Māṃpe Mudiyanse in 1786, eight years after the death of Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara. The first part of the manuscript deals with the history of Ceylon as the Rājāvaliya does and its last portion gives an account of Buddhism in Ceylon with special reference to Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara and his religious activities. As the author was a contemporary of the Saṅgharāja there is no question about its authenticity regarding the history of Buddhism during the Kandyan period. The Malvatu Vihāra has been named as Dhammi-kārāmayā in this manuscript and it further illustrates a vinaya council held by Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara with the help of the monks of the two Chapters. Unfortunately, no copy of this manuscript is available in Ceylon so that I had to take a photostat copy of the manuscript which is at the National Library of Austria, Vienna.



Vannirājāvaliya

The author of this manuscript is unknown. As one manuscript lying in the Yāpahu Vihāra Library, Māhō, contains an eulogy of Rājasīṃha II, it can be assumed that this book might have been written during his reign. It is evident that the main aim of the book is to justify the claims of the South Indian Tamils who came as illegal immigrants and settled down in the Vanni districts. The manuscript is available in the Colombo Museum Library.

Rāsiṃha Hāmuduruvennē Rājanītiya

This manuscript has been considered to be of tremendous historical importance by the commissioners of the Historical Manuscripts Commission who recommended it to be published as it gives an authentic account of Rājasīṃha II's life and administration together with his mother's Sinhalese name, Kusumāsaṇa Devī who later on was known as Dona Catherina. Although the name of the author is not given there, it has been stated in the book that it was written during the reign of Rājasīṃha II. There is no difficulty in accepting its authenticity. The manuscript is in the possession of Mr. T.P.P. Gunatilaka, Retired District Judge, Rosemead Place, Colombo.

### Buddha Rājāvaliya

This manuscript belongs to the class of the Vanni Rājāvaliya, and is in the Colombo Museum Library. Its author is unknown. This has been written with the sole idea of establishing the claims for Ceylon of the South Indian Tamils as in the case of the Vanni Rājāvaliya. To deceive the Sinhalese, the author of the manuscript makes a deliberate attempt by stating that the Tamils came from Malabar in the time of King Bhātiya to support him in his wars against Kākamukkaras and protected the Bō tree at Amurādhapura. Although it is unauthentic and of no historical significance it is helpful to show the Tamil influence. The manuscript has undoubtedly been written during the Kandyan period.

### Malala Kathāva

This is another manuscript of the same nature and throws light on the different classes of Tamils and their Gods and demons who landed in Ceylon. Its author is not mentioned but its language reveals that it was a work in the Gampola or Kōṭṭe period. The Manuscript is deposited in the Colombo Museum Library. The other manuscripts that belong to the same category are the Asgiri Puvata, the Tudugala Visidāgama Pāvati Baṇḍaravaliya and the Kannasāmi Vittiya. The first and the last of these

manuscripts belong to the Kandyan period and the second to the Kōṭṭe period. Unfortunately the authors are unknown. The manuscripts are available in the Colombo Museum Library.

#### Aṇḍimālaya

This is a manuscript written in Sinhalese verse during the reign of Rājasiṃha II. Its author was the brother of Aṇḍanavela Yāpa who revolted against the above mentioned king and was sent to the Dutch in Colombo for punishment. According to some verses it can be considered that the book was written in Colombo for the purpose of attacking an Aṇḍi priest who came from Vilbāve of Kurunāgala and introduced himself to the Dutch as the son of Vijayapāla, the King of Mātale. The manuscript is in the possession of Labugama Laṅkānanda Thera, Pravacanodaya Pirivena, Vādduva.

#### Vilbāgedera Siyam Vistaraya

This is the work of Vilbāgedera Rāla who went twice to Siam to bring Upasampadā monks. It is the only manuscript that gives a comprehensive account of the Ceylonese Mission that went to Siam and as the author acted as the guide of the mission the authenticity of his account is beyond doubt. Vilbāgedera Rāla identifies himself in the manuscript by the names of Vilabāve Rāla, Vilbāgedera Nayidā and Vilbāve. It has been written in the reign of



Kīrtiśrī. The manuscript which is a reliable source of information of historical values is in the possession of the Degalḍoruve Ratanapāla Thera, Malvatu Vihāre, Kandy. Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya

This manuscript has been written by a grandson of Vilbāgedera Rāla in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It is known by the names of Syāma Sandeśa Varnanā and Kitsiri Caritaya. It deals with an account of his grandfather's mission to Siam and therefore it is obvious that this has been written with the material taken from Vilbāgedera's Siyam Vistaraya. That must be the reason why it is called Syāma Sandeśa Varnanā. In addition, it describes the life and religious contributions of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. Hence it is called Kitsiri Caritaya and Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya. These three names will tempt one to believe that they are three different books dealing with different topics. The aim of the author is to give a detailed account of the lands, gifts and titles obtained by his grandfather. The manuscript is seen in the British Museum and a copy of which is in the possession of Dr.P.E.E.Fernando of the Ceylon University, Pēradēniya.

Ket-habe Vinisa

This is a small poem written by a person called Danta Araccila of Dumbara during the reign of King Rājādhirājasimha. The poet has associated himself with the Saṅgharāja and therefore we can accept the authenticity of what he states is the poem. It reveals that the Saṅgharāja gave evidence in the Royal Court in favour of the poet and consequently he won the case regarding a paddy field. One verse of this book states that it was written after the death of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. The manuscript is at the British Museum (Or.6606, Hugh Nevill's Collection).

Vehera Vittiya

Written by a well-known poet called Kuṅkunāve Sumaṅgala during the reign of Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha, the last king of Kandy, this manuscript deals with an account of the Saṅgharāja's escape from the Dutch. The poem opens with a Sanskrit verse but ends with a Sinhalese verse which reveals the author's poetic genius. (The other Sinhalese verses are not up to the poet's usual standard). This has been written with the intention of securing a temple from the king. Hence it became known as Vehara Vittiya. It is reasonable to conclude that the account given in the

manuscript is authentic as the poet was a close associate of the Saṅgharāja. The manuscript is at the British Museum (Or. 6611, Hugh Nevill's Collection).

Saṅgharāja Terage Gāthādīpota

This is a collection of four small manuscripts that can be named as (I) Pāli Sandesa which is a message in Pāli verses together with a Sinhalese paraphrase addressed to King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha, (II) a Pāli Namaskāra Gāthā with its commentary (III) a Pāli message which has been written to send with a mission to a foreign country to bring upasampadā in case of Saraṇāṅkara's absence, and (IV) a Pāli Gāthā Sandesaya that was sent to Siam after the establishment of upasampadā in Ceylon. Of these four manuscripts the first three have been written by Vāliiviṭṭa Saraṇāṅkara when he was a youth and the last after he became Saṅgharāja. These four manuscripts are at the British Museum (Or. 6601, Hugh Nevill's Collection). Its authenticity is beyond doubt.

Sumana Sūtra

This book is supposed to be written during the Kandyan period as it has given an account of the history of Ceylon up to the Dutch period and mention has been made of the Dutch in Ceylon. It opens with a Pāli passage and

and the rest has been written in colloquial Sinhalese. The author's name is not given there. It is of great importance as it throws light on the Diyasena myth in Ceylon. The manuscript is in the Colombo Museum.

#### Vinē Sivupada

This is a manuscript written by a grandson of Gāḍumbāgāsvāvē Mātiṇḍu. As it is difficult to identify this person we cannot definitely say the exact time at which this was written but Hugh Nevill is of the opinion that the book was written in the sixteenth century. The manuscript is found in the British Museum.

#### Nōkkadu Mālaya

This is of tremendous importance historically. It has been written in Sinhalese verses. The authorship is assigned to Gaskon. As there are many verses referring to Viraparākrama Narendrasingha it might have been written during the time of that king. But Mr. James Alwis states that it was written in the time of Rājasingha II. This is probably the reason why he says that Gaskon lived in the time of Rājasingha II. - a theory which cannot be supported by a full reading of the manuscript. To this manuscript another manuscript has been annexed. It is called Andare. It can be assumed that the Nōkkadu Mālaya was written by

Gaskon while he was in prison to make a request for his release. It is known that the book was not given to the king as it fell into the hands of his enemies.

### Sīmasaṅkara Vinodanī

Written by a monk of the Malvatta Chapter in the first part of the 19th century, this work criticises the upasampadā ceremony held by the Asgiriya monks. The main aim of the manuscript is to condemn the sīma of the Asgiriya Chapter. Hence it is known as the Sīmasaṅkara Vinodanī. This is an ample evidence to prove the rivalry between the two chapters. The Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnanā must definitely be an outcome of this work the author of which is unknown. This manuscript is at the Colombo Museum.

### Ratnālaṅkāraya

Authorship of this manuscript goes to a monk called Vidāgama. As there were many monks by this name it is difficult to say who this monk particularly was. According to the legends Vidāgama Maitreya is said to have composed verses describing the virtues of the Buddha, that were used in the subsequent periods in Bali ceremonies. This Ratnālaṅkāra is comprised of verses about eleven Bali ceremonies out of 35. The manuscript is in the British Museum.

In addition, the following manuscripts have been consulted in this work:-

Senkhaṇḍaśailaśāsanavaṃśa, Boksāl Upata, Dāḍi-muṇḍa Upata, Kalukumāra Kavi, Piṭṭiya Suriṇḍu Puvata, Vīramuṇḍa Upata, Nāmalkumāra Upata, Ambarāpoti Upata, Kaḍavara Upata, Hūniyamya Kavi, Rīriyak Kavi, Gaḷabā Katāva, Dalumura Upata and Girā Upata. All of them have been written before the nineteenth century.

(b) Inscriptions, Grants and Letters

Apart from the inscriptions found in the Epigraphia Zeylanica I had to go through a number of inscriptions of the Kandyan period. Devanagala Inscription of Vimaladharmasūrya I reveals the gift of lands and paddy fields to Ratnālaṅkāra Thera and therefore is of historical importance. Both Nāthadevāla Inscription and Galgape Sannasa record the name of the second Kandyan King Jayavīra. Palkuṃbura Sannasa gives a picture of various activities of the immoral monks. Geṭabēriya Sannasa is helpful to prove the Moladaṇḍe Rebellion. {Kaḍadora Grant (Vimaladharmasūrya II) is of remarkable importance as it describes the religious and the social condition of the time. The other grants of similar nature are Velaṅge, Vēhāllē, Tissamahārāma which throw light on the Gaṇinnānses. I have consulted

some of Sarapaṅkara's letters and two of his messages which are helpful to understand his life and activities. In addition, the following grants and letters have been consulted:- The Padiyapālālla Copper plate, the Aluviḥāre Silver plate and Rājasiṅha II's letters.

(c) Chronicles and Published Works

I have had access to works like the Sinhala Vimaṇāvastuprakaraṇa, the Cūlavaṇsa, the Rājāvaliya, the Nikāya Saṅgraha (Appendix), the Syāmapasampadāvata and the Rājāratnākaraṇa which have been immensely helpful in this work. The last chapter of the Sinhala Vimaṇāvastuprakaraṇa gives a genuine picture of the corrupt monk of the Kandyan period and elucidates the religious and literary activities of Sarapaṅkara. Its author was a contemporary of Sarapaṅkara. The second part of the Cūlavaṇsa and the Syāmapasampadāvata have been written by Tibbotuvāve Siddāratha Buddhārakkhita and the account of Buddhist activities given in the above-mentioned three books is undoubtedly authentic as the authors were the Saṅgharāja's own pupils.

Mention must be made of the Jinakālamālī and the Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnaṇā which have been closely followed. Of them the Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnaṇā was published

by Dr. C.E. Godakumbure in 1956. There are three manuscripts in the British Museum by this name. The name of the author is not given and according to Hugh Nevill this has been written by a monk in between 1838 and 1848 as it mentions the name of Queen Victoria. No doubt the author's aim was to attack the Malvatta Chapter and condemn its unasambādā. For this purpose the Malvatta conspiracy against the King Kīrtisīrī and the consequent imprisonment of the Saṅgharāja have been dealt with in detail. As it criticises both the Chapters it cannot be the work of an Asgiriya monk. Therefore one may suspect its authenticity. Whatever it may be the Malvatta conspiracy and its consequences are true. This has been illustrated by Hugh Nevill and further account of the same has been given in the Mārispattu Rājāvaliya too.

The Jinakālamālīnī is a book in Pāli verse and was written by a monk called Ratanapañña in the 16th century in Siam. The book was published by Mahāvatta Buddhādatta Thera in 1956. Ratanapañña Thera was educated under a Sinhalese monk and obtained the higher ordination under a Sinhalese monk and obtained the higher ordination from the Sihala Saṅgha in Siam. He deals with history of Buddhism and the religious relation between Ceylon and



Siam established in 13th and 15th centuries. Its authenticity has been accepted by many scholars including Dr. S. Paranavitāna.

The other books that I have often referred to in this work are the Mandārapura Puvata, the Life of Father Jacome Gonzalvez, the Saṅgharājasādhucariyā and the Saṅgarājavata. Among them the Mandarapura Puvata is a book in Sinhalese verse first written by Vikum Aduru in the 17th century and continued by Unambuvē Yati and another person in the 18th century. The book was published by Labugama Lanḱānanda Thera in 1956. This mostly deals with local history and is of the nature of the Rājāvaliya so that its authenticity is not free from doubt. With regard to certain historical incidents which appear to be based on rumours or legends dealing with Buddhism and Kandyan Kingdom are debatable so that one may condemn the whole book but regarding certain aspects of the book its importance is tremendous and is useful to a research student of Kandyan history. This is the only book that refers to a revolt against Vimaladharmasūrya I by a Hindu priest, and this has been verified by a copper plate of Paḍiyapūlālla.

The Life of Father Jacome Gonzalvez written by Father S.J.Perera in 1930 has been totally based on the documents

and the literary pieces of Father Jacome Gonzalvez. As it deals with an authentic account of the two Kandyan kings and Vālivīṭṭa Saramāṅkara together with the current Buddhist practices it is of immense value. Both Saṅgharājasādhucariyā (Ayittāliyaḍḍe) and Saṅgarājavata (a verse book of Muṅkotuvē Rāla) which deals with the life story of Saramāṅkara have been composed by his own contemporaries and therefore there is no question of their authenticity. It is true that they have been written with a great respect towards the Saṅgharāja so that the reader cannot expect to gain from them a balanced picture of the life of this great prelate. Apart from them, I have consulted a large number of books the list of which is given in the bibliography.

(d) Periodicals

The Periodicals I have referred to in this work are:-

Journals of Royal Asiatic Society, Epigraphia Zeylonica, Ceylon Antiquary, Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, and the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. As the articles found in these journals are generally accepted as authentic and

reliable sources of information, I need not make any comment on them.

It may be noted that the verses and prose passages taken from manuscripts have been transliterated and translated in the thesis, whereas only the English version of those verses and prose passages which have been taken from published books is given.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGSFBS	-	Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore Ballad Sources
BCR	-	Buddhist Commission Report
BSOAS	-	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
CA	-	Ceylon Atniquary
CC	-	Christianity in Ceylon
CJHSS	-	Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies
CPLMss	-	Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts (W.A.de Silva)
CV	-	Cūlavaṃsa
CVP	-	Cūlavagga Pāli
DPA	-	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā
EZ	-	Epigraphia Zeylanica
HC	-	History of Ceylon
HMssC	-	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HRC	-	An Historical Relations of Ceylon
JRAS (CB)	-	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)
LFJG	-	Life of Father Jacome Gonzalvez
MMV	-	Māṭara Mānava Vam̃sa
MSA	-	Mediaeval Sinhalese Art
MV	-	Mahāvaṃsa
MVP	-	Mahāvagga Pāli

Ms	-	Manuscripts
OR	-	Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts
RV	-	Rājāvaliya
SAV	-	Śasanāvatīraṇa Varṇanā
SHC	-	Short History of Ceylon
SPL	-	Sabaragamuvē Pāraṇi Liyavili
SSC	-	Śaṅgharāja Sādhu Cariyā
SN	-	Saṃyutta Nikāya
SSL	-	Siṃhala Sāhitya Lipi
SRV	-	Śaṅgharāja Vata
SV	-	Syāma Varṇanā
SVVP	-	Siṃhala Vimāna Vastuprakaraṇa
UV	-	Udaraṭa Vitti

## CHAPTER I

### Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara and the Revival of Buddhism in Ceylon.

#### Political Background.

Surrounded by mountain, river and forest barriers (giri durga, jala durga and vana durga), Malaya-raṭa was an impregnable fortress with which Mother Nature had endowed Śrī Lankā. Realising this, it was in Malaya-raṭa that Duṭugāmuṇu, Vaḷagambā, Mahasiḷu and other Anurādhapura kings sought refuge to escape both native rebel and foreign invader.<sup>1</sup> Traditions connected with them still echo in the hamlets and the caves of the highlands (Kanda-uḍa raṭa).

In course of time Malaya-raṭa produced its own ruler. It became the rallying ground of Vijayabāhu I as the Cholas who subdued Polonnaruva had failed to establish their authority in the central highlands. Palaṭupāna and Vākirigala, two of his hiding places, were situated in this region. Parākramabāhu the Great, who realised the strategic importance of the Dumbara valley in his military campaign, stationed several of his battalions in the valley to intercept

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1. Mahāvamsa, chapter 24, 34.

the counter-attacks of Gajabāhu.<sup>1</sup> It was for the same reason that after becoming the undisputed sovereign of Śrī Lankā, he established a separate administrative unit for the Malaya country. His successors however, paid little attention to this region. The rulers of Daṁbadeṇiya and Kurunāgala did not consider Malaya-raṭa of much importance, primarily because these were periods of decay in the political history of the Sinhalese Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

The removal of the Capital from Kurunāgala to Gampola was, nevertheless, possibly due to political reasons. Bhuvanekabāhu IV, judging Gampola to be the best place of security against the Tamil invasions from the North West, elected to establish his royal Capital there among the mountains. Concurrently Dādigama, the birth place of Parākramabāhu, was also favoured by some kings as a Capital.<sup>3</sup> It was during this period that Malaya-raṭa took the name of Kanda Uḍapasraṭa. It was so named as it consisted of the five raṭas:- Uḍunuvara, Yaṭīnuvara, Hārispattuva, Hēvahāṭa and Dumbara.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cūlavamsa, chapter 33.

2. See Codrington, H.W. A Short History of Ceylon, page 85.

3. Tisara Sandeśaya was composed to request God Upulvan to protect Parākramabāhu of Dādigama from his enemies.

4. See Fr. Perera, S.G. History of Ceylon, page 3.

The rulers of Kōṭṭe, being close kinsmen of the Gampola dynasty did not oppose the latter when they took a firm grip over the administration of the hill-county. Further the Kōṭṭe kings found it exacting to exercise supervision over the highland regions.

Under Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, the last of the Sinhalese Kings to unite the island, Kandy was ruled by a Prince of Gampola. Jōtiya Siṭāṇo,<sup>1</sup> though owing allegiance to the Gampola king, rose in revolt and ceased to pay tribute to Kōṭṭe. Thereupon Parākramabāhu VI despatched Ambulugala Kumārayā, who deposed Jōtiya and re-established the prince of Gampola instead.<sup>2</sup>

The Pārakumbā Sirita describes this incident as follows:-

When the sun-like Pārakum resembled King Bhātiya  
 When his rays like four-fold army shone,  
 Pitch darkness-like, millionaire Jōtiya, the King,  
 Being frightened fled to the other universe.

His pure flood of fame resembled the moon;  
 He was endowed with a sun-like glory.  
 Having dived into a river - like rays of his nails  
 Prince Gampola removed his own heat.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Epigraphia Zeylonica, Vol.III.page 230.
  2. Rājāvaliya (Ed. Pemānanda), page 66.
  3. vv. 48, 50 (Ed. Baṭuviṭa Abhayagunaratna).



The death of Parākramabāhu VI ushered in another period of political unrest in the country, and the Buddhist clergy (e.g. Śrī Rāhula of Toṭagamuva,) took a leading rôle in these political up-heavals. Parākramabāhu VI was succeeded by Lokanāthā's son as Jayabāhu II. Śrī Rāhula was the person behind the Throne on this occasion. Jayabāhu's days on the throne of Kōṭṭe however, were numbered. He was slain by Prince Sapumal, the conqueror of Jaffna.<sup>1</sup>

The latter is believed to have been a Tamil named Sembagapperumāl, who had migrated from the Chola country.<sup>2</sup> It was his father however, and not he, who had migrated to Ceylon. Sapumal Kumārayā ascended the throne of Kōṭṭe as Bhuvanekabāhu VI. The ill-feeling between this monarch and Śrī Rāhula forced the latter to keep aloof from the Upasampadā Ceremony of the Rāmañña Bhikkhus on the Kālaṇi river headed by Viḍāgama Maitreya.<sup>3</sup>

During this King's reign there was a wide-spread rebellion in the mingdom. Prince Vikramabāhu, who then lived at Gampola, quelled the revolt in the highlands in 1473 A.C., and succeeded in becoming the Cakravarti of a new kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sāḷalihiṇi Sandesaya v. 29.

2. Abeysinghe, P.M.P.Udaraṭa Vittī, page 118.

3. See Ch. 11.

4. EZ., Vol. IV page 276 "Ampitiya Inscription."

These two rebellions of Jōtiya Āpa and Vikramabāhu illustrate the ambition of these rulers to establish a separate and independent kingdom in the Kandyan hills.

### Kingdom of Senkaḍagala

Vikramabāhu came to be "Senālaṅkāra Vikramabāhu Cakravartī." He constructed his new capital near the cave of a Brahmin named Senkhaḍa, on account of which it came to be known as Senkaḍagala Nuvara. Hemmed in by the river Mahavāli on three sides and the Hantāna mountain range on the other the city was a natural stronghold guarded by two garrisons. Hence it received the name of Kaṭupulla bada<sup>1</sup> Senkaḍagala, the garrison city. (A subsequent name of the city was Śrī Vardhanapura). The King supported the cause of the Buddhist Church by erecting Vihāras such as Asgiriya and Pōyamalu, and embellished the city with all the requirements of a capital.

Vikramabāhu was an ambitious monarch. He provided Māyādunne and Bhuvanekabāhu with an army to depose their father Vijayabāhu from the throne of Kōṭṭe. He promoted the division of that kingdom among the three sons of Vijayabāhu, which act left his own kingdom as the strongest.<sup>2</sup>

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1. This denotes a Police party, or a garrison. Senkaḍagala is said to have been guarded by two Police parties or garrisons.
  2. Narendrar Caritāvalōkana Pradīpikā, Ch. 78.

Although his kingdom originally consisted of the five raṭas, he made use of the existing political confusion in Kōṭṭe and brought the Vanniars of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vellassa and Panama under his rule and also extended his authority over the Prince of the seven Kōrales.

He was succeeded by his son Jayavīra Astāna, who is also identified as a Vikramabāhu.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he became the king of Kandy Māyādunne's political machinations brought this prince also within his influence. Ambitious of becoming the sole ruler of Ceylon, Māyādunne attacked Bhuvanekabāhu a number of times. This forced Bhuvanekabāhu to seek the help of the Portuguese to protect his grandson, who was the heir apparent to the throne of Kōṭṭe. Bhuvanekabāhu therefore sent Rādhārakṣa as an envoy with an effigy of Dharmapāla to be crowned in Lisbon, a fact which throws light on the king's nature.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile two other sons of Bhuvanekabāhu by another queen aspired to the throne of Kōṭṭe. One of them was put to death by Bhuvanekabāhu, but the other escaped to Goa and was baptised as Don Louis. The Portuguese friars in Colombo conspired to place this prince on the throne of

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1. Galgane Inscription. (EZ., Vol. IV.)

2. SHC., ch. 6 (H. W. Codrington).

Kōṭṭe. Bhuvanekabāhu, who knew this, withdrew his friendship from the Portuguese and allied himself with his brother Māyādunne against the foreigner. This political change in the low country alarmed the Kandyan King, who considered this a threat to his kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

### The defeat of the Portuguese

Eventually Bhuvanekabāhu and Māyādunne directed a combined attack on Uḍaraṭa. Though Jayavīra appealed for Portuguese help, his appeal proved abortive as the reply of the Portuguese fell into the hands of the Kōṭṭe king. The two low-country monarchs took over the passes giving access to Uḍaraṭa and prepared for the offensive. Jayavīra with his governors soon appealed for Portuguese help, declaring their willingness to become converts to Christianity. Nevertheless before Jayavīra could obtain Portuguese help in 1546 Māyādunna and Bhuvanekabāhu had succeeded in obtaining a large indemnity from Jayavīra Baṇḍāra.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, by the time the Portuguese army reached Kandy, Jayavīra was a disappointed man. Hence he declared that the promises would be fulfilled only if larger forces arrived from India.

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1. HC., ch.3, (Fr. S.G.Perera) (1911).
  2. The Portuguese Era, ch.5 (Dr.Peirís P.E.) Dr.Peirís identifies Jayavīra as Jayavīra Baṇḍāra.

The Portuguese Government of Colombo accordingly despatched Antonio de Barreto with a troop of 100 soldiers along with some friars in 1547. But before Barreto could reach Kandy, Bhuvanekabāhu had succeeded in compelling Jayavīra to come to terms and to surrender his daughter to Dharmapāla as a bride. Jayavīra refused either to accept Portuguese help or to become a Christian unless the Portuguese won for him the two kingdoms of Sītāvaka and Jaffna.<sup>1</sup>

#### Rājasiṃha annexes Kandy

Jayavīra died in 1549 and was succeeded by Karalliyadda Baṇḍāra, a son of Jayavīra by a junior queen.<sup>2</sup> He ascended the throne with the help of the Portuguese. Rājasiṃha, the parricide King of Sītāvaka, aimed at the annexation of Kandy. In this he received assistance from Vīrasundara Mudaliyar of Pērādeṇiya, which enables Rājasiṃha to fulfil the life-long ambition of his father Māyādunne. Though Karalliyadde was supported by Portuguese battalions Rājasiṃha vanquished the Kandyan army and expelled Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra from Udarāṣa. He took refuge with the Portuguese at Trincomalee. Rājasiṃha thus became the ruler

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1. The Portuguese Era, ch. 5 (Dr. Peiris P.E.).

2. EZ., Vol. III, p. 242.

of a great part of Śrī Lankā.<sup>1</sup>

Baptized as Don John, Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra died of smallpox having entrusted his nephew Yamasinḥa and daughter Kusumāsna Devi<sup>2</sup> to the Portuguese, who baptized them under the names of Don Philip and Dona Catherina respectively. The Portuguese, expecting to make good political use of them at a later date took good care of them.

With the sole intention of expelling the Portuguese from Colombo and becoming the overlord of Śrī Lankā, Rājasinḥa besieged the fort of Colombo on a number of occasions but was unsuccessful. This failure made the monarch turn tyrannical towards his subjects. The people being thus offended, rose against Rājasinḥa. Though he quelled the revolt of Sotupala Baṇḍāra of the Seven Kōrales, the one led by a grandson of Gampola Devi who had become converted to Christianity and assumed the name Don Francisco, turned out to be a protracted one.

Rājasinḥa suspected Virasundara Mudaliyar of Pērādeniya of perfidy and put him to death. Virasundera's

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1. SHC., p.103, (H.W.Codrington).

2. Dona Catherina's Sinhalese name is Kusumāsana Devi. This appears in a manuscript called Rāsinḥa Hēmuḍuruvanne Rājanītiya which is at present in the possession of Mr. T.P.P.Gunatillake, Rosemead Place, Colombo.

son Koṇappu Baṇḍāra fled to the Portuguese with the aim of avenging his father's death and was baptized as Don Juan of Austria.

Don Francisco, who had been expelled from Kandy by Rājasiṃha's officers, invited Yamasīṃha Baṇḍāra to accept his ancestral throne. But Rājasiṃha succeeded again in sweeping away his enemies from Uḍaraṭa with the help of his chief Minister Vikramasiṃha who eventually took up his residence in Kandy, built a royal palace there and laboured for the improvement of the city.<sup>1</sup>

While Rājasiṃha was at Sitāvaka, Prince Philip, persuaded by the Franciscan friars invaded Kandy with a Portuguese army and was proclaimed king of Kandy. Koṇappu Baṇḍāra now styled Don Juan had to be content with the appointment of Commander-in-chief of the army. The rebuilding of the Catholic church in Kandy which had earlier been destroyed and the power and the influence being wielded by the Portuguese over the new monarch, naturally aroused the suspicions of the Kandyans. Don Juan took this opportunity to kill Philip by poison and expel the Portuguese from Uḍaraṭa. Next, he assumed the name of Vimaladharmasūrya I, and became

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1. Ms. Vikramasiṃha Mudali Kavi (or. 660).

the king of Uḍarṭa in 1590. Mandārampura Puvata, a contemporary work, describes the incident thus:-<sup>1</sup>

Don Philip fled from Siṃhala land in fear of Rājasīṃha,  
He embraced the religion of the Portuguese;  
With him was Koṇappu Baṇḍāra and both  
Were sent to Seṅkaḍagala with an army.  
Philip was appointed as the king there.  
Koṇappu Baṇḍāra was given the post of Captain;  
The latter, being dissatisfied with this, and being wise,  
Thus cultivated friendship with the Sinhalese army.  
He soon sent Philip to the abode of Yama,  
Frightened the Portuguese and drove them away terror-stricken.  
He decked the City of Seṅkaḍa like unto a celestial city,  
And crowned himself under the name of Vimaladharamasūrya.

Vimaladharamasūrya was the son of Vīrasundara Mudaliyar of Pērādepiya, who was done to death by Rājasīṃha I. Baptised as Don Juan of Austria, he went to Goa where he received his education. Returning to Ceylon as an Officer in the Portuguese army, he turned against his masters and established an impregnable fortress kingdom in Uḍarṭa.<sup>2</sup>

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1. vv. 76-78, Ed. Labugama Laṅkānanda Thera. The first part of this poem was composed in the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya I and is full of historical information.
  2. RV. p. 87.



Devanagala Ratnālaṅkāra, the Chief Thera of the times, mobilized the Kandyanans and helped Vimaladharma to complete the coup successfully.<sup>1</sup> The strong kingdom then established, remained the centre of political gravity right up to the British occupation of this region in 1815 A.C. Rājasiṅha I took the offensive against this new monarch but was decisively defeated and succumbed soon after he was injured.

The attempt of the Portuguese to depose Vimaladharma and instal Dona Catherina on the throne of Kandy was also thwarted by Vimaladharma, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Portuguese at the great battle of Danture. An outcome of this splendid victory was the espousal of Dona Catherina by Vimaladharmaśūrya. This marriage further consolidated Vimaladharma's position on the Kandyan throne.<sup>2</sup>

The new ruler, who had lived with the Portuguese both in Colombo and in Goa for a considerable period, proved to be an intrepid warrior and a sagacious monarch.<sup>3</sup> He discarded Christianity and according to the traditions of the country embraced Buddhism. It was generally claimed that Dona Catherina too became a convert to Buddhism. But Robert Knox contradicts this and testifies that she remained a devoted Catholic.<sup>4</sup> Rodrigo La Menezes' statement helps us

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1. Devanagala Inscription 11, (see Ez., vol.111,p.320.)

2. HC., p. 98 (FR.S.G.Perera).

3. Sulupūjāvaliya, p. 7. (1913 Edition).

4. HRC., p.52.

to conclude that according to the traditions of the country she became a Buddhist after her marriage to Vimaladharmasūrya. His contention is that she did this because the Kandians were arch-enemies of Roman Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

Born and bred in Uḍaraṭṭa, Vimaladharmasūrya worked for the progress of the nation in general and for the upliftment of the Buddhist religion in particular. Though he and his queen lived after the Portuguese fashion, he revived the ancient customs of the country. He caused the Asala Perahāra, which had been an annual festival in the Kōṭṭe Kingdom, to be celebrated in Serṇkadagala. He restored the temples that had fallen into decay during the time of Rājasiṅha I. Devanagala Ratnāṅkārā Thera, who fought for the rights of the Buddhist Church against Rājasiṅha and had helped him immensely to win over the kingdom of Kandy, was rewarded with lands by the grateful monarch.<sup>2</sup> The learned Thera brought to Serṇkadagala the Tooth Relic of the Buddha from its place of concealment at Delgamuva Vihāra and deposited it in a palace for the Tooth Relic constructed by the new monarch.<sup>3</sup> As there were in Ceylon not enough monks even to form a quorum at the higher

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1. "Rebellion de Ceylon" (JARS (CB), Vol.XI, No.41, p.55.

2. Devanagala Inscription, ii.

3. See ch. IIK.

ordination (Upasampadā) of monks, he got down Monks from Arakan in Burma and re-established the higher ordination in the island.<sup>1</sup>

### Rebellion:

Rājasimha had encouraged a number of Hindu priests to settle down in Uḍaraṭa. Giri of Mandārampura,<sup>2</sup> the most influential of the many priests, revolted against Vimaladharmasūrya.<sup>3</sup> Although the rebellion was a widespread one, Vimaladharmasūrya succeeded in crushing it and executing its leader. As a result the Hindu priests who had become a potent force in Kandyan politics had to flee for safety. The grateful king duly rewarded the victorious Commander Virasundara Mudiyanse with lands in Hēvahāṭa.<sup>4</sup> The attempt made by the king to obtain the help of Dutch arms for the expulsion of the Portuguese proved abortive and he died in 1604 A.C., after a successful reign of thirteen years.

He was succeeded by his brother Senarat, an ex-Buddhist monk. According to Nikāya Saṅgrahaya (Appendix)<sup>5</sup> he was persuaded by Vimaladharma to discard the robes to

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1. Ibid.

2. A small city situated in Uḍa-Hēvahāṭa at that time.

3. Mandārampura Puvata, p. 13.

4. A copper plate, in the possession of Padiyapālālle Sobhita Thera.

5. Nikāya Saṅgāha, (appendix), p. 37.

become the king of Uḍaraṭa. According to Rodrigo La Menezes, Vimaladharma gave not only his kingdom, but also his queen to Senarat.<sup>1</sup> Robert Knox further elucidates this point when he says that Senarat while being a Buddhist Thera married Dona Catherina and ruled the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Senarat was a pupil of Bhuvanekabāhu Paṇḍita Mudiyanse<sup>3</sup> and was by nature a peaceful person. A born follower of religious toleration, he permitted the Catholic friars to reside in Senkaḍagala. Dona Catherina, his queen, had three sons. They were Vijayapāla and Kumārasinḥa by Vimaladharmaśūrya and Rājasiṅha by Senarat. The education of these three sons was entrusted to the Catholic friars. However, according to Rājāvaliya, Vimaladharma had four sons and a daughter, and the eldest son was drowned in the waters of the Mahavāli by Senarat's order.<sup>4</sup>

Before long Senarat discarded his peaceful policy and adopted an aggressive one, as he realised that the Portuguese had decided to annex his kingdom. In the sequel Senarat proved to be a formidable foe. Emulating the military tactics of Vimaladharmaśūrya he withdrew from the field if the tide of battle went against him. But finally

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1. "Rebellion de Ceylon". JARS (CB) Vol.XI, No.41, p.55.

2. HRC, p.52.

3. Palkumbura Sannasa.

4. Upham. Sacred Books of Ceylon, p.322.

he succeeded in extirpating the Portuguese power by a general massacre of the Portuguese army headed by Constantine de Sa who had laid waste Uḍaraṭa and had marched triumphantly into the wilds of Uva. Rājasiṅha, the youngest prince, followed up the Portuguese to the Fort of Colombo harassing the belligerent army on all sides. On the other hand, Simon Corea, a hireling of the Portuguese, burnt the king's palace at Senkaḍagala, forcing the king to take refuge at Diyatilaka Nuvara, (this is another name for Haṅguranketa), as recounted in Rājāvaliya.<sup>1</sup>

Senarat, worn out with age and fatigued by the asperities of war, divided his kingdom into three portions and distributed them by lot, making sure that Kanda Uḍaraṭa went to Rājasiṅha, Uva to Kumārisiṅha, and Mātala to Vijayapāla.<sup>2</sup>

#### A Warrior Monarch:

Senarat died in 1635 A.D. and was succeeded by Rājasiṅha II. Kumārasīṅha, the ruler of Uva, died before leaving the city to take over his kingdom, thus enabling Rājasiṅha to annex that province too. Vijayapāla, indignant

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1. p. 92 (Ed. Pemānanda Thero.).

2. Viraparākrama Narendrasīṅha told Fr. Jacome González that Dona Catherina had entrusted her sons to a Franciscan friar called Francis Negro to be educated. (LFJG, p. 102).

at his younger brother's act, joined the Portuguese and schemed against Rājasiṅha. Though he received baptism at the hands of the Portuguese he failed to oust his brother. Thus Mātale too fell into the hands of Rājasiṅha. As the ruler of his late brother's kingdom as well as of his own he became the sovereign ruler of the island and decided to teach the Portuguese a bitter lesson by expelling them from Ceylon. For this purpose he looked about for an ally abroad.

Vimaladharmasūrya was the first among Ceylon's rulers to seek foreign help to oust the Portuguese. The visit of the Dutch envoy Spilbergen to the Court of Kandy proved futile.<sup>1</sup> He was followed by Seebalt de Weart, whose unseemly behaviour prompted the indignant monarch to put him to death. In the reign of Senarat, Bouchouwer arrived at Batticaloa to discuss terms for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ceylon. But this plan too failed as on his return he could not win for his plans the sympathy and support of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company.

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1. JARS (CB) Vol.XI, No. 41.

Expulsion of the Portuguese:

To crown his life-long ambition Rājasiṅha sent an envoy to the Dutch at Calicut to obtain their help.<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General of Batavia, who received the message, despatched Westerwold to Ceylon to open negotiations with Rājasiṅha. When this news reached Colombo, it stirred up the Portuguese Governor-General, who immediately made plans for a final attempt to subjugate Kandy and annex it permanently to the domains of the Portuguese. But his army received a staggering defeat at Gannoruva where they were cut to pieces by the wrathful Kandyan guerrillas and the regulars.<sup>2</sup> This deadly blow crushed the already debilitated Portuguese power in Ceylon.

A treaty was signed between Rājasiṅha and Westerwold. The two parties agreed to combine to drive the Portuguese from Ceylon. In return the Dutch were to receive a monopoly of trade in the island to recover their expenses. All forts captured from the Portuguese were to be garrisoned by the Dutch only at the king's express desire and were to be repaired at the king's expense. This limiting clause, which occurred only in the king's copy, was the root cause of the enmity which developed later between the

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1. JARS (CB) Vol.XXI, No.36 (Rājasiṅha's letters).  
 2. HC. p. 101 (Fr. S.G.Perera).

two contracting parties.

War was soon declared against the Portuguese. The Portuguese forts succumbed to the attacks of the two allies one after another. But to the great displeasure of Rājasiṅha these were garrisoned by Dutch troops. Consequently the Dutch became the masters of the seaboard of the island in spite of the vehement protests of the Sinhalese king. This historical event, namely the substitution of one foreigner for another, aroused the indignation of the Sinhalese people, who satirically referred to it as an instance of "exchanging ginger for pepper" (iṅguru dī miris gattā vaḡeyi).<sup>1</sup>

Outwitted by his allies Rājasiṅha became unpopular among his subjects. In order therefore to secure himself against conspiracies hatched by his own subjects he employed them in continuous Rājakāriya service. But these methods did not prevail against the people, who subsequently revolted against the king. According to Robert Knox, the leader of the rebellion was Aṁbanvela Rāla<sup>2</sup> but there were also many other leaders such as Ēdaṇḍuvāve, Pallampitiye and Uḍabaddāve.<sup>3</sup>

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1. SHC. p.136.

2. HRC. p. 95. It is known that Siriniyāsa, chief prelate of Pōyamaḷu Vihāra of Kandy, induced Aṁbanvela Rāla to revolt against the king.

3. Aluviḥāra Sannasa (Silver plate) in the possession of Sir Richard Aluviḥāra, Mātale.



Unable to arrest the growing disloyalty of the people and their political machinations, the king took refuge in the village of Nilāṃbe far removed from the city. The rebels followed him to Nilāṃbe with the object of deposing the king and placing his son on the throne. But the monarch's life was saved by the self-sacrifice of Aluviḥāre Vapiḡasēkara Mudaliyar. When the rebels surrounded the city, the Mudaliyar enabled the king to escape and slept in the royal chamber in his place. The rebels, believing him to be the king, killed the Mudaliyar and gloated over their fancied success.

The failure of the rebellion was due to several factors, the foremost of which was the disunity among the conspirators. The king in desperation now turned to the Dutch for help, whom he had hitherto considered to be his enemies. The sending of Aṃbanvela Rāla<sup>1</sup> to the Dutch in Colombo for punishment was one of the primary actions he took to cement his friendship with the foreigner. The Dutch, taking advantage of the domestic troubles of the king, brought under their rule some territories of the king numbering fifteen kōrales. The king also rewarded the loyal Aluviḥāre Mudaliyar by a grant of Nindagam villages.

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1. SHC. p.136.

His son, whom he believed to be the *raison d'être* of the rebellion was sent into confinement. But the belief which became current among the people (including Robert Knox) was that the prince had been poisoned by the king.<sup>1</sup>

After the rebellion the king naturally suspected not only his countrymen but even the Dutch. The fact being an atheist he put an end to the annual *Perahāra*, was also a cause of the rebellion.<sup>2</sup> The king further imprisoned many foreigners who had lost their way in the Kandyan kingdom, one of them being Robert Knox, an Englishman.<sup>3</sup> The king suspected his subjects of perfidy and lived his last days either at *Nilāmbē* or *Galaḍanuvara*.

An unusual feature of his reign was the growth of the power of the nobles, the official ruling class. This was one potent factor which made the king more suspicious and tyrannical. *Vijayapāla* of *Mātaḷe*, an elder brother of *Rājasiṅha* who had been baptised by the Portuguese, subsequently joined the Dutch with the hope of ousting *Rājasiṅha* and becoming the king of *Uḍaraṭa*.<sup>4</sup> But his attempt failed.

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1. HRC. p. 195.

2. See Ch.IV.

3. Robert Knox was an Englishman who was imprisoned by *Rājasiṅha* II. When after twenty years of captivity he returned to England and wrote a book called *An Historical Religion of Ceylon* which gives a detailed account of political and social conditions in the Kandyan Kingdom in the 17th century.

4. JRAS (CB) Vol.XI, No.41, p.11.

Later a certain Buddhist monk of Kurupūgala whom fear of Rājasiṃha had led to take sanctuary in Colombo, appeared before the Dutch pretending to be a son of Vijayapāla of Mātala and appealed for their help to become the king of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>1</sup> But the Dutch rejected his appeal though his cause was espoused by the inhabitants of the seven kōrales.

It has been pointed out how the rebellion of 1665 compelled the king to seek Dutch help. For this purpose in 1668 he sent the Chief prelate of Kandy, Gaṇḍebanḍāra, as an envoy to the Dutch Court to conduct negotiations. They received him with pomp and magnificence. The negotiations resulted in Gaṇḍebanḍāra promising on the king's behalf to release the Dutch and other Europeans held captive in Kandy. Gaṇḍebanḍāra, returning to Kandy with Henricus Van Bisterwold, the Dutch envoy, met Rājasiṃha and obtained the release of the Dutch prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch envoy took the utmost pains to create the impression that the Dutch were in this country as vassals of the Kandyan King.

Rājasiṃha during the last days of his prolonged reign developed a compassionate love for his subjects.

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1. Ibid.

2. JRAS (CB) Vol. XI. No. 41, p.6.

"The King, who during this phase of his life had come to look upon the Dutch as his protectors, intimated to Bisterwold one day that the Dutch would be the most appropriate successors to his Kingdom." But on his death-bed he produced his son before the people who had hitherto believed that the prince had been put to death by the king, rejoiced to see the lawful heir who now ascended the throne of Kandy as Vimaladhrmasūrya II. Since the heroic king had during the latter part of his reign done many things injurious to the interests of his subjects, there were few to mourn his death. That the death of the tyrant was a relief to the people is further testified by the remark made by Gaṇēbaṇḍāra to Bisterwold, who was sorrowing for the king, to the effect that the death of a villain was no cause for sorrow.<sup>1</sup> With the assistance of the Dutch too the cremation of the king was nevertheless carried out with pomp and magnificence.

#### A Zealous Monarch

Vimaladharmasūrya II was a born lover of peace who followed closely the counsel of the Buddhist clergy in governing the kingdom. While establishing a cordial

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1. *ibid.* p. 13.

relationship with the Dutch he decided to maintain peace and order within the boundaries of his kingdom and to promote the welfare of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The Dutch following a conciliatory policy in their turn, handed over to the king several kōrales so that the officials of the Kandyan land might develop the cinnamon trade.

At this time the Buddhist church had degenerated to such an extent that a sufficient number of Upasampadā monks was not available in the country to form the quorum prescribed for the Upasampadā ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the king wrote to the Dutch Governor Pyl requesting him to get down some Buddhist monks from Burma.<sup>2</sup> This mission too was led by Gaṇḍebanḍāra, the chief prelate of the Pōyamalu Vihāra. The king in return was willing to grant the Dutch permission to peel cinnamon in a number of villages and to hand over Beligama to Basnāyaka Nilame. Pyl complied with the request and the king's attempt to re-establish the Upasampadā in the island was crowned with success.<sup>3</sup>

The peaceful conditions which had prevailed for some time were again imperilled when the Kandyan chiefs demanded

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1. See ch. III.

2. Arakan. This is the North-Western part of Burma which has been known as Rakhaṅga in Ceylon.

3. JRAS (CB) Vol. XI, No. 41, p. 14.

the return of the villages occupied by the Dutch in 1662. This development, however, did not adversely affect their mutual trade reactions, and both the Sinhalese and the Dutch seem to have benefited from the peaceful activities that prevailed.

The king loyally followed the advice and the guidance of the chief monks and the nobility, and this naturally resulted in a reign of peace and prosperity. He erected a three-storied palace and enshrined there the Sacred Tooth Relic.<sup>1</sup> About this time Joseph Vaz, a Catholic missionary who was one of the king's intimate friends, occasionally led him astray. Pedro Gascon, the son of a Frenchman named Gascon and a Portuguese woman, was brought up in the king's palace. Jacome Gonzalvez, a Roman Catholic missionary, who had come to Ceylon in 1705, won the king's heart by making frequent gifts of various perfumes. These two Catholic Fathers engaged in a proselytizing campaign with the patronage of the king.<sup>2</sup> As it was in the teeth of violent opposition, both from his subjects and from the Dutch, that he had encouraged this campaign, signs of unrest began to appear in the

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1. CV. ch. 97.

2. LFJG. p. 17.

country. As Pedro Gascon stood by the king on this issue he turned out to be one of his trusted servants.<sup>1</sup> Before long Vimaladharmaśūrya II died in Kandy in 1707 after a peaceful reign.

### The Last Sinhalese King

He was succeeded by the Prince of Kuṇḍasāle, who now came to be known as Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha. He was a pleasure-loving monarch and his associates were mostly Catholic Fathers such as Joseph Vaz and Jacome Gonzalvez and foreigners such as Gascon and de La nerolle.<sup>2</sup>

This excessive trust which the king placed in these foreigners was perhaps the cause which two years after his coronation prompted Yālegama Nilame and other Dissavas to make an attempt on his life with the object of placing another prince on the throne of Kandy. The plan was to invite the king to watch an elephant fight in the Korāvāhakaḍa<sup>3</sup> Assembly Hall, and to assassinate him right there, but it misfired as the king had heard of the conspiracy and made good his escape thanks to the resourcefulness of Gascon. The king took refuge at Hunnasgiriya,

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1. See Ch. XVIII.

2. LFJG. p.44.

3. A small entrance to the city used by the king and his favourites.

where, after crushing the rebellion, he erected a palace at Huṅguranketa and lived there for a short time. Gascon was rewarded with the Chief Adigār's post by the grateful monarch.<sup>1</sup>

Out of these turmoils the Dutch reaped the harvest. They closed all the ports of the Sinhalese and compelled them to trade only with them. By way of retaliation, the king and his chiefs closed down the gravets (kadavat) thereby preventing trade between Kandyan and Dutch territories.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch endeavoured to adopt a more compromising policy but the question of opening up the ports had been shelved for ever.

#### A Friend of the Foreigner

The preceptor of this king was a Gaṇinnānse named Sūriyagoḍa Rājasundara whose advice was seldom or never followed by the king.<sup>3</sup> Ignorant of traditional customs and uninformed of the Buddhist scriptures, he detested the rebellious Kandyans. His chief adviser was Father Gonzalvez. The latter who saw the king at Huṅguranketa through the mediation of Pedro Gascon who himself was an erudite poet,

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1. UV. ch.27 (P.M.P. Abeyesinghe).

2. HC. p. 148 (Fr. S.G. Perera).

3. See Appendix III (Saṅgharāja's letter).



defeated the Frenchman Lanerolle in a controversy. The king was so pleased with the silver-tongued oratory of this Catholic Father, that he was granted permission to preach his faith freely in Uḍaraṭa and also to build a church at Kaccirāva. The king further rewarded him with an estate just in front of the palace for him to construct a church as well as a residence.<sup>1</sup>

Gonzalvez, at first a preacher, afterwards became a writer as a result of a jaw ailment. The books written by him amount to forty-two. In one of them he attacked the practices of Buddhist monks at the time and when the book<sup>2</sup> was dedicated to the king, the latter was greatly delighted. The subject matter of the book and the construction of Roman Catholic Churches aroused great unrest among the Buddhist monks. When the king became aware of this, he had the Catholic church at Kaccirāva demolished and ordered the Catholics to erect another at Bōlavatta to take its place.<sup>3</sup>

In 1721 Gascon Adikāram was executed by this king. It has been pointed out earlier how he won the good-will of

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1. LFJG. p. 58.

2. This book is undoubtedly, the "Buddhabaṇa Pratyakṣaya."

3. LFJG p. 82.

the king and by so doing was allowed free access to the palace. Rumours spread that Gascon had fallen in love with the Queen. It was this that brought about his end.<sup>1</sup> The king even suspected Gonzalvez and imprisoned him, but upon his release, he revealed the conspiracy against Gascon. The king believed his version and executed the Gaṇinnānse of Sūriyagoḍa and imprisoned Levuke Baṇḍāra who were both involved in this conspiracy.<sup>2</sup>

This king being of a frivolous nature, ordered the Dutch to bring him some pups and chickens as pets.<sup>3</sup> He was short-sighted enough to marry Indian princesses from Madura and plunge the future of the Island in darkness. Nevertheless, he liked to have educated people about him and derived great pleasure in following religious controversies.

The king committed a foolish act when he banished Vālivīṭa Sarāṇkara<sup>a</sup> from Kandy, under the instructions of the chief prelates of Asgiri and Pōyamalu.<sup>4</sup> However, when he realised that Sarāṇkara was a pious and educated

1. SS L. p. 150 (Sir D.B.Jayatilake)

2. See ch. XVIII.

3. Dr. C.E.Godakumbura is in the possession of a letter which states that the king in return had sent a young mouse deer (white in colour) to the Dutch).

4. See Ch. X.

novice he invited him to write Sārārtha Saṅgrahaya and Bhesajja mañjūsā, but when Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara requested the king to bring down the Upasampadā monks either from Burma or Siam, he turned a deaf ear. The king respected Saraṇāṅkara not so much as a pious novice as an educated one.

King Narendrasīṃha supported Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara by founding an educational centre at Niyamakanda. In order to make his queen's brother the heir apparent to the throne of Uḍuraṭa he arranged for him to be a pupil of Saraṇāṅkara.<sup>1</sup> Father Gonzalvez states that this king had a great attachment for him until the end of his life. Therefore, the king brought Holy water from the church in Kandy and drank it before he died.<sup>2</sup> In 1739 Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha died. Those who specially mourned his death were the Roman Catholics of the hill country.<sup>3</sup>

#### Nāyakkar Dynasty

Nāyakkar Hāmudurāvō,<sup>4</sup> the brother of Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha's queen, ascended the Kandyan throne as

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1. vv. 510, 511 Mpp. (Ed. Labugama Laṅkānanda Thera)
  2. LFJG.p.100.
  3. Ibid p. 100.
  4. UV. p. 31.

Vijayarājīṇha; an event in which Saraṇāṅkara also played an important part.<sup>1</sup> But his accession signalled a division in Kandyan politics. On one side were the Nāyakkār relatives of the king, Tamil by birth and Hindu by religion. The opposition consisted of chiefs who were Sinhalese by birth and Buddhist by religion, who were also the sons of the soil.<sup>2</sup> But they were divided by party factions which naturally jeopardised the smooth administration of the Government.

The king, according to the tradition of the time, embraced Buddhism on his accession. Saraṇāṅkara was appointed chief adviser and was rewarded with the post of Rājaguru.<sup>3</sup> The accession of the Nāyakkār not only enhanced the power of the Tamils but also gave a place of pre-eminence to the Hindu deities among the Kandyan gods.<sup>4</sup>

The marriage of Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṇha to a Nāyakkār princess brought in its train an influence of Tamil relatives of the princess to the Kandyan capital. The avenue in which they lived is still known as the Malabār Street in Kandy. His accession to the throne also created a precedent in that the right of succession now passed to

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1. See Ch. XI.
  2. HC. p.116 (Fr. S.G.Perera).
  3. MPP. v. 532.
  4. See Chs. V-VI.

the brother-in-law of the ruling monarch.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Vijayarājasiṅha succeeded in winning the confidence and loyalty of the people. He remained friendly with the Dutch expecting their help to procure Buddhist monks from Burma or Siam as proposed by Vāliiviṭṭa Saraṇāṅkara. The king therefore appealed to the Dutch Governor-General of Batavia through the Governor of Colombo to supply him with a seaworthy ship. The reply proved to be satisfactory as the Dutch promised to fulfil the request even at their own risk.<sup>2</sup> But the plans of the Rājaguru failed as both the voyages conducted in 1741 A.C. and 1742 A.C. ended in disaster.<sup>3</sup>

The king who had a great respect for the Buddhist clergy sent to Colombo the chief Gaṇinnāṇse with thirty two others to receive medical treatment at the hands of the Dutch physicians. Arrangements were made to quarter them in the Kālaṇḍiya Vihāra, but these had to be put off as the Dutch Government, as a mark of respect to the Sinhalese monarch brought them to Colombo. The medical examination for which he had come, revealed that the chief prelate was

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1. HC. p. 116 (Fr.S.G.Perera).
  2. JRAS. (CB). Vol.XI, p. 139.
  3. See Ch. IX.

in perfect physical health but was mentally unbalanced.<sup>1</sup>

Though Gonzalvez curried favour with the king by presenting him with sweets etc. the reign of this monarch was ruinous one to the Catholics.<sup>2</sup> The king was never a devoted Buddhist and his knowledge of the scripture was very meagre, but to satisfy the people and the Buddhist clergy, he ordered the destruction of the Catholic church of Bōlavatta. The Catholics held Sraṇaṅkara responsible for this act of vandalism. But this innocent and pious monk would not have countenanced the commission of such a villianous act, quite out of keeping with his character. On the king's death in 1747 A.D. his brother-in-law succeeded him to the throne of Uḍaraṭa and took the name of Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha.<sup>3</sup>

#### A Pious Monarch

Though the new monarch on his accession to the throne embraced Buddhism, he refused to discard his old faith in Hinduism.<sup>4</sup> He played this dual rôle to satisfy the Buddhists. This double religious policy of the Royalty

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1. JRAS. (CB) Vol.XI, p.24.

2. LEJG. p.117.

3. HC. p.167.

4. Śāsanāvatiṛṇa Varṇanāva. p.24 (Ed. Dr. C.E.Godakumbure)

occasioned Hindu rites, such as the application of holy ash on the foreheads (A Saivite custom) on the one hand, and on the other the intrusion of the pantheon of Hindu gods as a necessary sequence to the form of Buddhist worship in the Vihāras. These combined with the prevailing Buddhism and the national customs brought about not only a novel set of Buddhist beliefs but also, as a by-product, a new Elite.

During the reign of these monarchs, the administration of the country virtually fell into the hands of Adigārs. Accordingly, during the early part of his reign, Dumbara and Māmpitīya were in charge of the country's administration.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of this monarch was marked by the re-establishment of Upasampadā by the Siamese monks, which fulfilled the life ambition of Saraṇāṅkara.<sup>2</sup> This king also returned to the Buddhist Saṅgha, the trusteeship of the Śrī Pāda, sacrosanct to Buddhists, which had been entrusted to the Hindus by the godless Rājasinḥa I of Sitāvaka.<sup>3</sup> Though the king ostensibly professed Buddhism

1. HC. p.167 (Fr.S.G.Perera).

2. See ch. IX.

3. Sabaragamuve Pāraṇi Liyavill. p. 16 (Kiriālle Nāṇavimala Thera).

still he continued to follow his old faith, and his approach to the national festival naturally incensed Sinhalese chiefs. Therefore plans were afoot to depose the Tamil monarch and replace him by a Siamese prince who had accompanied the mission to the Island.<sup>1</sup>

The arch conspirators in this plot against the king were Samarakkoḍi and Moladande Dissave. This attempt on the king's life in which the Saraṇāṅkara and the chief incumbent of the Malvatta Vihāra were also participants will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. But the king was informed of the plot in time, by Gōpāla, a Muslim Mudaliyar. The two leaders were immediately captured and beheaded and the grateful monarch granted the lands of Moladande to Gōpāla Mudaliyar by the famous Gaṭaberiya Sannasa.<sup>2</sup>

During the reign of this monarch the Kandy Perahāra was primarily a Hindu festival, but Kīrti Śrī by adapting it in honour of the Tooth Relic gave it a Buddhist aspect. He also caused the writing of a portion of Cūlavamsa by Tibbotuvāve Śrī Siddhārtha Buddharakkhita, and further renovated Daṁbulla, Ridi Vihāra and Maḍavala Vihāra.<sup>3</sup>

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1. SAV. p.24.

2. Kāgalla Reports. p. 101 (Bell)

3. Ms. Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya. A copy of this manuscript is in the possession of Dr. P.E.Fernando, University of Ceylon, Pēraḍeniya.



The harmonious relations that existed between the king and the Dutch early in his reign diminished towards the latter part for several reasons. The king's chiefs were offensive in manner and demanded a share of the pearl and the elephant trade from the Dutch. Simultaneously they also harassed the cinnamon peelers sent by the Dutch to collect cinnamon in the king's lands. The repercussions of these incidents were also evident in the Low Country, where the rebels were supported by the Kandyan monarch.

Emboldened by the indifference shown by the Dutch towards these high-handed actions they sent a mission to the British Fort St. George in 1762 A.C. soliciting their support to drive away the Dutch from Ceylon, but the British rejected the treaty proposals of the Kandyan king as they were at peace with the Dutch at this time. However, the British, anxious to get a foot-hold in the much coveted Island of Ceylon which would help them in their engagements with other European powers in the East, sent John Pybus in 1763 on a political mission to the Kandyan king.<sup>1</sup> But the English ambassador was unable to give any promise of support against the Dutch and thus had to return to India after a fruitless mission.

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1. SHC.p.142.

This visit of the English ambassador aroused the Dutch from their long torpor. Under Van Eck, a Dutch army marched against Kandy, but the invading army was cut to pieces by the Kandyan, whose guerrilla fighters used devices suitable for jungle warfare to wipe out the whole Dutch army. To compensate this disgrace, a second invasion was immediately planned and carried out, and the victorious Dutch army without encountering any serious opposition entered Kandy through Galagedera. The king, unable to resist the Dutch invasion, took refuge at Haṅguranketa along with his followers. Though the king sued for peace, the Dutch, intoxicated with their quick success, haughtily demanded that the king should become a vassal of the Dutch East India Company. The rejection of this proposal by the king resulted in the looting of the city of Kandy by the entrenched Dutch army.<sup>1</sup> But the Dutch detachment, sent to capture the king, was beaten back with heavy losses. The Governor Van Eck, having fallen ill in the Kandyan hills returned to Colombo with a good portion of the army leaving only a small Dutch contingent infected with tropical fever and surrounded by a hostile nation.

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1. HC. p. 172.

The line of communication between Kandy and Colombo was neglected, a fact which caused a shortage of food supplies to the garrison in Kandy. Thus neglected and forgotten, the Dutch garrison was surrounded on all sides by the Kandyans and slain. Only a minority saved their lives and succeeded in reaching Colombo. The expedition resulted in heavy losses and the purpose for which it was planned thoroughly failed.

Falk, the successor of Van Eck, was a somewhat shrewder diplomat. He tried to achieve through diplomacy what arms had failed to achieve. Marauding parties were sent to ravage the king's territory, from Trincomalee and Puttalam. These expeditions threatened the peace of the country's farmers and the king sent ambassadors to Colombo to seek a truce. Thus the aims of the Dutch Governor were realised. The Governor, aware of the plight of the king, decided to exploit the situation and demanded the most extortionate terms from the Sinhalese envoys.<sup>1</sup> These, too, had no alternative but to agree to all the demands put forward by the Dutch. The result was one of the most iniquitous treaties in the history of Ceylon.

By this treaty, the king had to renounce his claims

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1. SHC. p. 143.

to the Disāvanies of Mātara, Galle and Jaffna, and the districts of Kalpiṭiya and Batticaloa. A strip of the sea coast of Ceylon, one league in width, was to be given to the Dutch, which made the latter the masters of the whole seaboard of Ceylon. On the other hand, the Dutch recognized the king as the lawful ruler of the interior of Ceylon. Free access to the salt-pans of the south and the eastern coasts was to be granted to him including the right of free trade through his ports. The Dutch also took to themselves the monopoly of trade and permission to collect cinnamon from the king's lands, a condition which negated the existing hazards against the collection of cinnamon. The Dutch also promised to pay compensation for the loss of lands suffered under the terms of the new treaty.<sup>1</sup>

This abhorrent treaty marks a turning point in Kandyan - Dutch relationship. It deprived the Sinhalese of the chance of obtaining one of their dire necessities, salt, a right which the Kandyan kingdom had enjoyed from its beginnings. No doubt, the terms of the treaty were practically ineffective but its spirit survived till the expulsion of the Dutch from the maritime provinces of

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1. HC. p. 175.

Ceylon by the British. The British East India Company now replaced the Dutch power in Ceylon. It started by capturing Trincomalee and sending Hugh Boyd as emissary to the City of Kandy to open up negotiations for a treaty. But before he could reach the capital the king who was most desirous of such a treaty, died of injuries caused by a fall from a stallion, a present of the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> His brother succeeded him as Rājādhirājasirīha.

Soon after his accession, Hugh Boyd again visited Kandy and discussed the terms of a positive treaty for the expulsion of the Dutch from the Island. But the king refused to conclude any agreement with any person other than an accredited ambassador of the British monarch, as the previous mission of Pybus had turned out to be a total failure.<sup>2</sup> Thus Hugh Boyd had to return after a fruitless mission.

The Dutch were alarmed by the repeated visits of British ambassadors and hence tried to be friends with the king. They even contemplated returning the sea-board acquired in the time of Kīrti Śrī to Rājādhi. But the capture of Trincomalee by the French and its return to the Dutch encouraged the latter as a consequence of which they

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1. SHC. p.145.

2. HC. p. 177.

changed their attitude towards Kandy.

This compelled the Dutch to reject the request of the king to return to him the sea-board of Ceylon. The king in reply, retaliated by closing the Kaḍavatas. The Dutch, too, hindered the king's trade and prevented him from obtaining the regular supply of salt. Though the king sent a delegation to the Dutch objecting to this high-handed action it served no purpose as the delegation consisted of Adigārs such as Piḷimatalayve who were more friendly towards the Dutch than to the king. Under these circumstances the Dutch prepared for an offensive, but instructions were received from Batavia to abandon such an intention, and were duly observed.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever be the causes of the conflicts between the Dutch and Sinhalese they ultimately turned out to be detrimental to the Sinhalese. Therefore the king opened up the Kaḍavatas and informed the Dutch Governor of it. The Dutch, too, satisfied with the new turn of events opened the ports for free trade. Rājādhirājasinḥa had been a pupil of Moratoṭṭa Dhammakkhanda Thera, and brought up under such a celebrated teacher that he proved to be a scholar and produced the masterly literary work, Asadisadākava.<sup>2</sup>

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1. HC. 177.

2. CV. ch. 101.

His court was adorned by such poets as Dunuvila Gajanāyaka Nilame, Munkoṭuve Abēysiṅha Rāla, Gunnāpāna Ekanāyaka etc. The control of Śrī Pāda, which until his time was in the hands of the Vēhālla generation was wrested from Karatoṭa Dhammārāma and was given to his own tutor Moratoṭa Dhammakkhanda.<sup>1</sup> In the Low Country, too, an important political event took place during his reign: the substitution for Dutch authority of that of the British East India Company.

Two years after this in 1798 Rājādhirājasimā<sup>4</sup> died. Piḷimatalavve, the chief Adigār placed Kannasāmi on the throne of Uḍaraṭa as Śrī Vikramarājasimā<sup>4</sup>. He was a son of the second queen of the late monarch. According to 'Kannasāmi Vittiya',<sup>2</sup> Piḷimatalavve incited Kannasāmi to kill Rājādhi and placed him on the throne of Kandy expecting to use him as a "tool". The same work supposes that Kannasāmi was an illegal son of Piḷimatalavve.

Muttusāmi, the rightful heir, disappointed at the turn of events, took refuge with the British in Colombo. He was despatched to Jaffna safely by the latter to be made use of in the future.

Śrī Vikrama the new monarch of Kandy was not such a feeble king as Piḷimatalavve anticipated. As he was aware

1. SPL. p. 88.

2. Kaḍayim Saha Vittipota (Ed. Mr. T.W.Marambe).

of the power and the machinations of the Kandyan aristocracy he was unwilling to become a puppet in their hands. Therefore he followed a popular policy in working for the poorer and middle classes and tried to crush the traditional curse of Kandy, the aristocracy.<sup>1</sup>

Srī Vikrama was the creator of the beautiful Kandy lake and the Octagon (Pattrippuva) adjoining the Tooth Relic palace. In return for the paddy fields of Malvatta, acquired for the purpose of opening up the reservoir, the king compensated the Chapter by granting paddy fields from Gampola. His plans to remove Malvatta Vihāra to Bōganbara were abandoned owing to opposition of the incumbent prelates.<sup>2</sup>

When Piḷimatalavve realised the abortiveness of his recent machinations he planned to depose Srī Vikramarāja-jasimha from the throne of Kandy with the assistance of the British. But the British Governor aware of his motives rejected his proposal. But the other chiefs of Kandy supported the king against Piḷamatalavve. The chief Adigār, too, who knew of the Governor's reluctance and the antipathy of his colleagues in Kandy, mutilated a number of British subjects of Puttalam who had gone to the hills for trade.

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1. SEC.p.174.

2. H. Mss. C. 2nd Report. p.48.



This served to antagonise the British towards the king of Kandy. The plans of Piḷimatalavve proved successful and the British Governor, Fredrick North annoyed at the recent happenings sent an army to invade Kandy in 1803. It entered the Kandyan capital without facing stout opposition and placed Muttusāmi on the throne of Kandy. Śrī Vikrama escaped to Haṅguranketa.

Muttusāmi's enthronement did not turn out to be popular. Detachments sent out to capture Śrī Vikramarājasin̄ha returned with woeful tales. A general massacre of the British army then followed, including Muttusāmi, the rightful heir to the throne. Taking advantage of this temporary success. Śrī Vikrama whose suspicion of Piḷimatalavve had been doubled by the recent events put the unscrupulous Adigār to death.<sup>1</sup>

The Adigār's death paved the way for his nephew, Ahālēpola, even a more dangerous traitor to the nation than Piḷimatalavve had ever thought of being. After his appointment as chief Adigār he moved to Sabaragamuva to supervise the development of agriculture in that region;<sup>2</sup> meanwhile Ahālēpola's enemies turned the king against him by bringing false reports of his deeds in Sabaragamuva. Thereupon Ahālēpola was summoned to the capital by the king. But the

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1. SHC. p1170.

2. CV. ch. 101.

Adigār, who by now was aware of the machinations of the other Adigārs and the intentions of the king, fled to Colombo and took refuge with the British. The revengeful king in return committed an atrocious crime by putting the family of Ahālēpola to death. As a result the king lost his popularity and became a tyrant in the eyes of the people.

Ahālēpola marched into Kandy supported by a British force from Colombo. The king despatched Helligoḍa to blockade the route of the British. But he too crossed over to the British in the territory of the four Kōrales. Śrī Vikrama realising the helplessness of his situation sought refuge at Mādamaha Nuvara. Four days subsequent to the capture of Kandy, i.e. February 18th 1815, the king was arrested by Ahālēpola's men at Bōmure and was handed over to the British.<sup>1</sup> The frightful result was the loss of Laṅkā's freedom which had been protected with the selfsacrifice of its heroic sons for over three centuries. Thus ended a relentless game of intrigue and conspiracy played successively with three world powers.

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|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. tiṅgol vela nattu         | Beyond Tiṅgol Vela              |
| pāren uḍaha pattu            | On the upper side of the road,  |
| tampalā vattu                | In the garden of (tampala)herb, |
| siṭiya vaga āyi mataka nattu | Why have you forgotten your     |
|                              | sojourn?                        |

(The foregoing stanza is said to have been recited by the royal clown when Śrī Vikrama was captured and brought to Kandy as a prisoner. This has been taken from a manuscript which is in the possession of Degaldoruve Ratanapāla Thera of Malvatta temple, Kandy.)

CHAPTER IICultural History.Dual Fraternities.

At the end of the Anurādhapura period the three Buddhist Fraternities of Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavana suffered a general deterioration which prompted King Vijayabāhu I of Polonnaruva to bring down Buddhist monks from Rāmañña to restore the Higher Ordination. But before long Parākramabāhu the Great, laid down disciplinary rules for the Saṅgha in a rock inscription at Galvihāra in Polonnaruva.<sup>1</sup> These new measures of Parākramabāhu obliterated the divisions in the Buddhist church. But a by-product was the division of the church into new Fraternities, namely the Village Fraternity and the Jungle Fraternity (grāmaṇvāsa and vanavāsa).<sup>2</sup>

Of these the Jungle Fraternity established their residential quarters in the forests and engaged themselves in meditation. Normally upright, they were made exceptionally pious by the jungle environment. Therefore they devoted themselves to the task of writing books pertaining to Buddhism.

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1. Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon No. 54 (Muller). This inscription is known as Polonnaru Katikāvata which was an agreement on rules and conduct for the behaviour of monks. See Katikāvat Saṅgarāva (Ed. Sir D.B. Jayatilake).
  2. EZ. Vol. III, p. 97.

But with the shifting of the capital their hannts were removed to Diṃbulāgala, Paḷabatgala, Kāragala, Haṅguranketa and Asgiriya<sup>1</sup> in close proximity to the selected Capitals.

The Village Fraternity took up their abodes in the temples adjoining the villages and naturally devoted themselves to religious and social affairs leaving only a part of their time for the production of literary work. But their indulgence in excessive social work led towards corruption and a disruption of the Fraternity took place. The disciplinary Agreements (Katikāvatas) of Polonnaruva and Daṃbadeṇiya were the outcome of the royal wish to arrest this deterioration. The chief centre of the Village Fraternity was the Vihāra in the capital city. Thus in the reign of the Kandyan rulers Pōyimalu Vihāra became the centre.<sup>2</sup>

Both Fraternities had their own chief Theras, but the more celebrated of the two was appointed the Saṅgharāja by the ruler.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the unification of the Saṅgha by Parākramabāhu the Great, and the influence exerted by Sanskrit

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1. See Ch. XIV.

2. See Ch. XIV.

3. Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata. p.8 (Ed. Sir D.B.Jayatilake).

works, the Bhikkhus<sup>1</sup> of the times came under the influence of Mahāyānic beliefs as reflected in works like Pūjāvaliya.<sup>1</sup> Some monks of the Village Fraternity were not only influenced by Mahāyāna ideas but became victims of the strong forces of the Isvara faith. This is partly proved by the literary compositions of Sṛī Rāhula, a monk of the Village Fraternity.<sup>2</sup>

### Disunity

The monks of the Village Fraternity having adopted Mahāyāna beliefs degenerated further as a result of their associating with the laity and of their interest in the social and religious activities of the latter. This made them a valuable target for the relentless and voluminous attacks of the opposed sect. Vidāgama's Budugunālaṅkāraya<sup>3</sup> and Haṃsa Sandeśaya<sup>4</sup> could be quoted as two outstanding examples of this. The rivalry of these two sects was the primary cause which resulted in the appearance of a number of literary works reflecting the opposing views of the two schools.

Another measure of the Village Fraternity which reacted in a detrimental manner to the interests of the Saṅgha

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1. Dr.C.E.Godakumbure - "Sinhalese Literature" p.64.
  2. Ibid.pp. 152,153.
  3. Ed. Sir D.B.Jayatilake.
  4. Ed. Dr. C.E.Godakumbure.

was the enthroning of those who approved their policies. The Buddhist Church played quite an important part in the political affairs of the country. The Mahānāma Thera was the chief organiser of Dhātusena's campaign against the Tamils and helped the latter to become the undisputed ruler of Śrī Laṅkā.<sup>1</sup> Thera Nanda accompanied the three princes Saṅghabodhi, Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābaya from Mahiyaṅgana to Anurādhapura<sup>2</sup> with the express intention of enthroning the princes on the throne of Rajaraṭa. Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne with the unstinted support of Vidāgama Thera. Rājāvaliya refers to the machiavellian tactics of this Thera who was responsible for the death of Alakaśvara in order to make Parākramabāhu the ruler of Kōṭṭe.<sup>3</sup>

Śrī Rāhula was primarily instrumental in making Jayabāhu the king of Kōṭṭe, after the death of Parākramabāhu VI. But prince Sapumal, nephew of Parākramabāhu, was too ambitious, and hence deposed Jayabāhu to become the monarch of Kōṭṭe as Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>4</sup> Dissatisfied with the new turn of political events Śrī Rāhula retired to a solitary jungle life. Even though he was Saṅgharaja of the times

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1. CV. ch. 8.

2. Elu Attanagalu Vihāra Vaṃsa. ch. III.

3. p. 65 Ed. Pemaṇanda Thero.

4. See ch. I.

he was a notable absentee at the Higher Ordination performed by Bhuvanekabāhu VI for Burmese monks. Before long both Fraternities deteriorated and the causes which led to this will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

The Brahmins, who had been brought down to Ceylon from South India by Bhuvanekabāhu IV of Gampola, eventually settled down in Ceylon, marrying into Sinhalese society. The migration of Cholas to Ceylon also took place simultaneously and they too settled down in a number of districts of the Island and were finally absorbed into Sinhalese society.<sup>1</sup> The princes of Malaya (Malabar) shaken by the threatened invasion of Maravārayan Sundarapāṇḍya found refuge in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> These migrations naturally resulted in the importation of a pantheon of gods and the rites and sacrifices connected with them.<sup>3</sup> These foreigners received high appointments in the Country's service and continued to preach their religion. For the effective performance of the latter they employed Kapurālas (priests). Their religion also proved to be a powerful social force in the country. Śrī Rāhula was a ready victim of these forces.

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1. Asgiri Puvata UV.p.69.

2. Ms. Malala Kathāva. Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts (W.A. de Silva). No. 2399.

3. See ch. III.

This change in him is clearly portrayed in his literary works. On the other hand Vīdāgama levelled his attacks at these in his Budugunālakāraya.

Planets in the sky  
Are gods in the celestial city;  
They do not accept any other food,  
But the pleasant ambrosia.

Within the range of four hundred leagues  
If human beings would stay,  
The gods despise them as the dirt,  
That sticks around their necks.

When they desire the oblation,  
Offered from door to door in the human world,  
Why are they called gods?  
They are poor and humble beggars.<sup>1</sup>

The onslaughts of Vīdāgama on these pointless sacrifices were of no avail as the latter within their short stay in this country had become embedded in the heart of Sinhalese society. The regular performance of rites,

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1. vv. 138, 141, 143 (Ed. Sir D.B.Jayatilake).



sacrifices and offerings to the planets became a part of the religious life, both of the king and the commoners. Kuvēṇi Asna, the composition of Uttaramūla Thera,<sup>1</sup> who lived during the period under discussion, is a compendium of blessings on Parākramabāhu VI. This further confirms the powerful operation of Indo-Dravidian forces in Ceylon.

Vidāgama Thera was fighting a losing battle to exalt the doctrine, against the infiltration of Hindu beliefs. Thus he dropped the method of doctrinal instruction and adopted the more subtle one of exalting the virtues of the Buddha with the help of popular modes of expression. e.g. Ratnālankāra,<sup>2</sup> supposed to be a work of his, carrying eleven different categories of rituals. The verse

ratna hāmaṭa guruvara muni kavurū  
 ratna hāmaṭa guruvara ape munivarū  
 ratna me kav kī guruvaru kavurū<sup>3</sup>  
 ratna me vidāgama maha teravarū

Who are the sages who are gems among all teachers?

Our sages are teachers like gems to all.

Who are the teachers who recited these gem-like verses?

Gems are these great prelates of Vidāgama.

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1. Dr. C.E.Godakumbure "Sinhalese Literature" pp. 290,291.
  2. Ethnology Vol. I, p. 12.
  3. "ratna me kav pada kaḷa guru kavurū" (the Ms, in the possession of Vaguralayāge Gedara Pañcanādayage Dīṅgiriya Vel Panikkale of Bamuṇakoṭuva, Maho).

is a pointer to the fact that he believed the Buddha to be the greatest of all gems. The ultimate result of this campaign of Vidāgama was, that the society which had absorbed Hindu elements into its fold changed considerably. But the diversion caused by Vidāgama produced a new type of Buddhism during the Kandyan period. This will be explained in a subsequent chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Both sects fell into chaos towards the latter part of the Kōṭṭe period and became victims of a new force with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 A.C.

One of the declared motives of the Portuguese which brought them to Ceylon was their evangelizing zeal. In Ceylon their baptism of Dharmapāla into the Catholic faith was followed by a successful campaign of conversion in the low-country. To achieve this end, the Roman Catholic father and the unscrupulous Portuguese soldier utilized every available means, from military force to peaceful preaching.<sup>2</sup> This compelled both Bhikkhus and the leading Buddhist citizens resident in the Portuguese domain, to go in search of sanctuaries in Ruhuna and the Kandyan hills.

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1. See Chs. VII and VIII.

2. See Ch. III.

During this period of dismal political confusion the Daḷadā had been safely guarded by Hiripiṭṭiye Nilame. In a dream a vision had requested him to leave Kōṭṭe taking the Daḷadā along with him. The request was as follows:-

"kōṭṭē kaḷālē data māda ganna rālē"

Although this literally means 'you must take the mat and pillow and brush the teeth' its concealed meaning is 'you must give up your hopes of Kōṭṭe and take the Tooth Relic to the hill country'. Hugh Nevill<sup>1</sup> takes this as 'data māda ganna' in the sense of taking the Tooth Relic to the hill country. Some others say "kōṭṭē kaḷālē kisillē data māda ganna rālē"<sup>2</sup> means 'by taking mat and pillow in the armpit carry the Tooth to the hill country'. Whatever may be the interpretation given to this popular saying it no doubt reflects the keen demands of the people to ensure the safety of the Daḷadā, which would no longer be safe in the Kōṭṭe kingdom. The custodian of the relic thereupon removed it from Kōṭṭe and placed it in the hands of Māyādunne. He in return constructed a new Tooth Relic palace at Delgamuva and placed it there.

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1. Ethnology Vol. II, p. 135.

2. SPL. p. 36 (K. Nāṇavimala).

A Temporary Relief

With the gradual extension of the Portugese power in the low country, the Buddhist church naturally suffered a great deal. But on the other hand Buddhism in the Kandyan hills entered the dawn of a promising period. King Vikramabāhu of Kandy, the contemporary ruler, worked assiduously for the welfare of the Buddhist church, by the construction of Pōyamalu Vihāra and by improving a number of other Buddhist temples.<sup>1</sup> He also caused the production of religious works, which were a few sparks in this gloomy period of literary stagnation. With the help of Dharmakīrti Thera he held an upasampadā ceremony at Gāṭembe which promoted the interest in the Buddhist church far and wide in the ravines and hamlets of the Kandyan hills.<sup>2</sup> He constructed a temple at Urulāvatta and donated it to Bhuvanekabāhu Thera of Kōṭṭe<sup>3</sup> (an uncle of King Bhuvanekabāhu of Kōṭṭe) who had taken refuge in Kandy fearing the attacks of the Portuguese.

Jayavīra, the son of Vikramabāhu II, showed the same zeal as his father for the restoration of the diminished prestige of the Saṅgha. Thus he persuaded Bhuvanekabāhu

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1. Ms. Senkhanda Sāila Sāvanavaṇṣa, Or.6606 (108)
  2. Sulupūjāvaliya p. 6.
  3. EZ. Vol. III. Palkumbura Sannasa.

Thera of Kōṭṭe, the incumbent of Urulāvatta Vihāra, to write 'Visuddhimagga'. In gratitude for the splendid work accomplished by the venerable Elder, the monarch rewarded him with a gift of a vihāra at Palkuṁbura.<sup>1</sup> But the king was unable to rule the country peacefully for a long time, as both the Portuguese and the ambitious Rājasinḥa of Sītāvaka turned their attention towards Uḍaraṭa. The inevitable result was that the Kandyan kingdom which had hitherto kept aloof from the currents and the cross currents of contemporary political events, came under the threatening war clouds of the times. Thus emerged a perilous time both for Buddhism and the Buddhist monks of the Kandyan hills.<sup>2</sup>

#### Persecution of Buddhism by Rājasinḥa

Rājasinḥa, the patricide king of Sītāvaka embraced Hinduism to escape retribution for his wanton crime and became an enemy of the Buddhist church. As a result those Buddhist monks who had fled to Uḍaraṭa before the persecutions of the Portuguese, fell from the frying pan into the fire. Rājasinḥa of Sītāvaka, anxious to free himself from the

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1. Palkuṁbura Sannasa.

2. See Ch. I.

devastating punishment awaiting him in the next world, sought solace in Hinduism, as he learnt from the Buddhist monks that there was no escape in the Buddhist church from such a heinous crime. By this honest reply the Buddhist church brought great disaster on their heads.<sup>1</sup> Consequently Rājasīṃha embraced Hinduism and made Ariṭṭhakivēṇḍu, a shrewd and cunning South Indian priest, his chief chaplain. Śrī Pāda was handed over the Hindu priests.<sup>2</sup> Further measures to penalize the Saṅgha were to follow. He stationed Śaiva priests in different parts of the country. The anti-Buddhist campaign carried on by these new religious propagandists is narrated in the 'Maṇḍarāmpura Puvata' thus:-

They destroyed Buddhism and introduced heresy,  
And made all embrace Śaivism by applying ash on their  
foreheads,  
They put sand in the throats of those who did not embrace  
Śaivism,  
They crushed the noble Mudaliyars and made them slaves.

They confiscated the offerings at bo trees and temples,  
Killed virtuous monks and broke Buddha images.

They burnt the books and destroyed valuable antiquities,  
They oppressed the citizens and plundered their goods.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sulupūjāvaliya p. 7.

2. Ms. Senkhaṇḍa śāila śāsana vaṃśa, or.6606 (128).

3. MPP. vv. 64, 65.

The expulsion of the Kandyan ruler from the throne of Uḍaraṭṭa by Rājasiṃha I of Sītāvaka brought about a more calamitous period to the Buddhist monks of Uḍaraṭṭa. Deprived of peaceful life both in the low country and up country, they were now threatened with death itself. Hence the Bhikkhus, apart from protecting Buddhism, had to fight for their very existence.

An inevitable result of this was that a majority of the Buddhist clergy discarded their robes. Others entered the jungles and lived in disguise. Still others became laymen to look after the lands donated to the viḥāras and to make a living.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu Kapurālas, a considerable number of whom had migrated to Ceylon, and the Śaiva priests who had been brought down by Rājasiṃha I reaped the benefits of the prevalent chaotic conditions which prevailed in the Buddhist church particularly and the country in general. The following verses quoted from Mandārampura Puvata amply testify that those foreigners subjected the Buddhist church to unprovoked destruction and exploited the wealth of the country.

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1. EZ. Vol. III. Palkuṃbura Sannasa.

The army of Saivites arrived here thus;  
 There were seven powerful priests.  
 They without any hesitation  
 Destroyed Lāṅkā and became proud.

Among them, one endowed with fame  
 Was the powerful ascetic called Giri;  
 Who in the province of Mandāram  
 Arrived immediately with the Order of<sup>1</sup>  
 Rājasiṅha.

Giri, an ascetic whose name has been already mentioned was powerful enough to lead a rebellion against Vimaladharmasūrya even after his patron's death. Vimaladharmasūrya completely crushed him and also expelled all other Śaiva ascetics who were a potent danger to Vimaladharmasūrya's authority in the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Vimaladharmasūrya, the new ruler of Kandy concentrated all his efforts on the propagation of Buddhism. To Thera Ratnālāṅkāra of Devangala who mobilised Kandyan opinion on behalf of Vimaladharmasūrya, the grateful monarch donated paddy lands.<sup>3</sup> As the king discovered that there were

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1. MPP. vv 60,61

2. See Ch. I.

3. Devanagala Inscription II (See EZ., Vol. III p.320).



no monks to form a quorum prescribed for a higher ordination, he brought down more than ten monks, including Nandicakka and Candavisāla from Arakan (Rakkhaṅga) country and held a higher ordination in the Hall of Confession bounded by the water<sup>1</sup> of Mahavāli at Gāṭaṃbe. Here on this occasion over a hundred received their higher ordination.<sup>2</sup>

#### Removal of Tooth Relic to Kandy

The Tooth Relic that had found a sanctuary at Delgamu Vihāra escaped the wrathful hands of Rājasiṃha. Even godless Rājasiṃha venerated this supreme religious object, apparently because he believed also that its possessor was the rightful ruler of the Sinhalese Kingdom. Vimaladharmasūrya brought the Tooth Relic to Kandy through Galaṇḍa Thera<sup>3</sup> and placed it in a two-storeyed palace. He also renovated a number of Buddhist temples including Lapkātilaka, Gaḍalādepiya and Attanagalla which had been neglected in the times of Rājasiṃha.

#### Buddhism deteriorates again

The death of Vimaladharmasūrya was followed by general deterioration of Buddhism in the country. Both

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1. "Udaṅkukkhepa Sīmā".

2. CV. Ch. 57.

3. SPL. p. 38.

Senarat and Rājasīṃha II could not pay any attention to this sphere as more vital political factors absorbed their attention. The distressing result was the emergence of a set of Buddhist monks and a corrupted disciplinary code with new principles attached.<sup>1</sup> Rājasīṃha II detested both Sinhalese and Buddhist monks. Though he considered some of the Buddhist Bhikkus to be his enemies, still others who were loyal to him engaged in diplomatic missions.

#### Re-establishment of Higher Ordination

Vimaladharmasūrya II was compelled to bring the Arakanese monks again as the upasampadā established by his namesake at the beginning of the century, had disappeared. With the help of the Dutch the monarch sent his ministers to Pegu and brought thirty monks including Santāna and Lokarāga Pudgala.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the Higher Ordination was conferred on the Sinhalese monks at Bāṭam̐be ferry.<sup>3</sup> To this day a Hall of Confession, established by these monks can be seen in the Pōyamalu Vihāra in Kandy. Even in the Narendracaritāvolakana Pradīpikā<sup>4</sup> the number is given as thirty three. But this is contradicted by Cūlavam̐sa and

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1. See Ch. IV.

2. "Longrā". See Ch. IX.

3. CV. Ch. 60.

4. Ch. 83 (Ed. Mahābodhi 1926)

and Nikāya Saṅgraha<sup>1</sup> (appendix). However as 'Kaḍadora Grant'<sup>2</sup> (Siṭṭuva) also states that 'thirty three, including Santāna and Longrā Theras arrived in Ceylon' this number could be taken as more accurate. Though he worked with commendable energy for the upkeep of the religion, his death brought a time of chaos to the Buddhist church again.

His son Viraparākrama Narendrasinḥa was a licentious monarch. His trusted friends happened to be the Catholic Father Joseph Vaz and the foreign adventurer Pedro Cascon.<sup>3</sup> The king obstructed the efforts of Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara at the beginning, and his followers later who made a sincere attempt to revive the lost glories of Buddhism in Ceylon. The monarch was indifferent to this cultural campaign of Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara even after he became one of his admirers.<sup>4</sup> But Saraṇāṅkara patiently awaited the arrival of a more opportune moment.

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1. Ed. Vālivīṭiye Dhammaratana

2. Godakumbure Dr. C.E. JRAS (new series) p. 147.

3. See Ch. I.

4. See Ch. X.

CHAPTER IIICultural History

The decay of the Buddhist Church started in the 16th century. The foregoing chapters revealed its gross degeneration in the middle of the 18th century resulting in the loss of Upasampadā, and the failure to preserve it even though it had been twice introduced from Arakan in Burma. Though Buddhism deteriorated in the Anuradhapura times<sup>1</sup> it did not fall into such a dismal decline as it did in the Kandyan days. Many were the causes of its decay in the days of the Kandyan Kings. Some of them may be listed as follows:-

- i. Loss of Royal patronage.
- ii. Influence of Christianity.
- iii. Political rebellions.
- iv. Social revolution and Indo-Dravidian influence.
- v. Economic system.
- vi. Caste system.
- vii. Family ties in the Buddhist Order.
- viii. Ordination brought from Arakan.

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1. Nikāya Saṅgraha. p. 20.

### Loss of Royal Patronage.

Buddhism made tremendous progress whenever it received royal patronage. According to documentary and other evidences the reigns of King Dharmāsoka, Devānampiya Tissa, Duṭṭugāmuṇu etc. were illustrious eras in the history of Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> The obvious reason for this was the energy and the diligence they displayed in the propagation of the Master's faith. They channelled both their power and wealth to this goal which ultimately brought them inevitable fame in the history of Buddhism. If not for the support of certain kings, such as Ajātasattu, Buddhism would have disappeared from India immediately after the demise of Buddha owing to the machinations of scornful monks like Subhadra.<sup>2</sup> This indeed proves the primary importance of royal patronage for the uplift of the faith.

The rulers of this island who ascended the throne after the 16th century A.C. could spare little time for the protection or the elevation of Buddhism as their attentions were more directed to internal rebellions.<sup>3</sup> Against these they battled to defend the very throne on which they were unsteadily seated. Although both Vimaladharmasūriya I & II

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1. IV. Chs. 15, 27.

2. Samanta Pāsādikā - Vinayaṭṭha Kathā (Paṭhama Saṅgīti).

3. See Ch. I.

worked for the welfare of the Buddhist church, their efforts failed to produce any lasting results, material, spiritual or otherwise, perhaps because both were uneducated in the Buddhist doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Senarat and Rājasiṃha II, two of the rulers capable of working in the interests of the religion, were deprived of this opportunity by the political manoeuvres of not only their countrymen but also the foreigner.<sup>2</sup> Viraparākramā Narendrasīṃha, a pleasure-loving licentious monarch who was a Buddhist only in name and ignorant of the doctrinal aspects of the religion, believed that the development of religion lay merely in the construction of dāgābas and temples.

The Nāyakkār dynasty which followed them were converted to Buddhism by the force of circumstances. Being desirous of furthering their claims to the Kandyan throne, they embraced Buddhism, while still practising the rites of their former religion. The Moladande rebellion<sup>3</sup> was in fact, a reply to this dualistic policy of the Nāyakkars. Conducting themselves as Buddhists before the eyes of the Sinhalese public, they also constructed Hindu

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1. Vimaladharmasūrya II paid no attention to the protest made by the Kandyans against the proselytising campaign of the Roman Catholic priests in the hill country. (LFJG p.17).
  2. Siṃhala Vimāna vastu prakaraṇa. p. 245.
  3. CA. Vol.II, p. 272.

Devāles for their queens and ministers. The contemporary Buddhist monk ignorant of the truth of the Master's faith also failed to realize the dual rôle played by the Nāyakkārs, and unwittingly encouraged the king in his religious policy. The conspiracy hatched by the Malvatta Monks to murder King Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha reveals the fact that some of the Buddhist public and the Saṅgha were eventually dissatisfied with the eclectic motives of the monarchs.<sup>1</sup>

As the rulers of this period were not true Buddhists they used the Saṅgha as an instrument in the government's administration. Thus the purpose for which the monks had entered the order was grossly neglected. Instead they were employed as political emissaries, District Governors, Basnāyakas, and Chaplains.<sup>2</sup> This in return enhanced the power of the corrupt monk who unjustly supported the ruler in his state affairs. The virtuous monk took shelter in seclusion. Thus the absence of patronage from a dynasty which lacked a sound knowledge of Buddhism led to the inevitable decay of the Buddhist church. No monarch of this period had the required knowledge of Buddhism, or

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1. Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnanāva. p. 24.

2. JRAS. (CB) Vol.XI, p.11.

powerful enough authority, to arrest the decay of the church.<sup>1</sup>

### Influence of Christianity.

The ancient chronicles mention the arrival of a number of religious philosophies in this island since the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda. The Indian adventurers with the sole exception of Māgha<sup>2</sup> were tolerant towards Buddhism and all its allied philosophies. In the course of its long history Buddhism absorbed into its fold the religious theories that followed it from India. But Catholicism, brought to Ceylon by the Portuguese, proved to be the vehement foe of Buddhism. As declared by Vasco da Gama on his arrival at Calicut the "Portuguese came to the East in search of spices and Christians".<sup>3</sup> The second of these objectives led them to take upon themselves the task of converting the heathens to Christianity as the accredited missionaries of the Catholic church. This was one of the chief objectives of the Portuguese for the achievement of which they even set up an Inquisition in Goa, and forced many of the natives to accept Catholicism in all the countries they contacted. Father S.G.Perera however, in his celebrated "History of Ceylon under the Portuguese" attempts to prove

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1. vv. 83, 84 Saṅgaraja vata.
  2. CV. Ch. 80.
  3. HC. p. 9 (Fr. S.G.Perera).



that no forceful means were used by the Portuguese to spread Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Emmerson Tennent in his book on Ceylon recounts the unscrupulous measures adopted by the Portuguese to wipe out the worship of statues in this country, specially after the conversion of Dharmapāla of Kōṭṭe and the ruler of Kandy into Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

It could be reasonably believed that the Portuguese resorted to force of arms in the conversion of the heathens of the East.<sup>3</sup> They destroyed the celebrated Buddhist shrines which stood within their domains to the great detriment of the morale of the Sinhalese race. The evidence of research shews<sup>4</sup> that the wanton destruction of these Buddhist temples in Kōṭṭe and Sītāvaka, especially in the former (which according to the Sandesa poets surpassed the beautiful city of Kuvera)<sup>5</sup> were so disastrous that no traces of any Buddhist buildings which embellished these cities in the heyday of their glory, have remained.

The razing to the ground of the holy places of Ceylon such as the beautiful Devāla at Dondra,<sup>6</sup> and the

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1. p.121.

2. 'Christianity in Ceylon' p. 24. 3. Buddhist Commision's Rpt. p.40

4. Dr. P.E. Peiris has given a detailed account of this great destruction. See "Ceylon and the Portuguese". p.88.

5. v. 14 Sālalihiṇi Sandasāya.

6. BCR. p. 129.

effective policy carried on by them to convert the whole sea-coast of Ceylon to Christianity, no doubt deprived them of the opportunity of obtaining the full returns of a flourishing trade, which in turn resulted in the decay of Portuguese power in Ceylon. The education of the country which had been till then in the hands of the Buddhist monks, was wrested from them and entrusted to the Catholic Fathers to be used as an instrument for the propagation of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> In 1591 all Vihāra lands were donated to the Catholic church by Don Juan Dharmapāla. The impression of Christianity made by the Portuguese on the converts was so great that even Kusumāsana Devi, baptized as Dona Catherina, remained a Catholic in practice and a Buddhist only by name even after she married Vimala-dharmasūrya I.<sup>2</sup> She entrusted her children to a Franciscan friar named Francis Negro for their education.<sup>3</sup> On the expulsion of the Portuguese a considerable number of Catholics found refuge in the hill Kingdom and from their presence Buddhism felt the adverse effects of the new faith. They found settlement in Kandy, Vaha Kōṭṭe, Haṃvālla, Galgamuva, etc.<sup>4</sup> Both Joseph Vaz and Jacome Gonzalvez

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1. SHC. p. 129.

2. JRAS (CB). Vol. XXX, No. 80, p. 402.

3. LFJG. p. 102.

4. CC.p. 42.

by a continuous presentation of gifts tried to convert Virapārākrama Narendrasinha. This method had paid them high dividends<sup>1</sup> among the general public. Gonzávez's attempt to wean away Vijayarājasinha with presents of sweets was of no avail.<sup>1</sup> However that their campaign was partly successful could be gathered from the fact that the two kings warmly received the books deriding Buddhism, written by Father Gonzálvez. The reaction against this campaign of the Catholic Fathers was a general commotion by the people. This, to a great extent, retarded the activities of the foreign missionaries in the Kandyan Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

After the arrival of the Dutch the influence and the strength of the Catholic church waned as<sup>3</sup> the Dutch considered the Portuguese their inveterate religious foes but not the local religions. Virtually in all the agreements contracted between the Sinhalese and the Dutch, an important clause was the mutual consent of the two parties to consider Catholic fathers as a set of spies working for the Portuguese and wish their expulsion to be carried out immediately.<sup>4</sup> Meantime a mode of propaganda adopted by

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1. LFJG. p. 105.

2. LFJG. pp. 81, 82.

3. CC. p. 40.

4. LFJG. p. 75.

the Catholic Fathers was the conversion of Buddhist Bhikkhus to the Catholic faith. A Chief Thera who had arrived in Colombo proceeded to Mātara and with great ceremony was baptized by Gonzalvez and went to Goa; so as to conceal it from the general public, he adopted the pseudonym of Marcelline.<sup>1</sup> Mandārapura Puvate<sup>2</sup> describes the poisoning of Buddhist Bhikkhus by Catholic Fathers. Over a hundred monks were poisoned to death in this manner and it further states that an attempt was made on the life of Vālivīṭa Saraṇāṅkara himself. Here I quote the verses which describe this incident in the Mandārapura Puvata -

"The Bishop, the chief of the non-Buddhists  
Destroyed Buddhism while living in Colombo  
To baptize the up-country people like those  
in the low country  
He always made a great attempt.

None of the up-country people  
Believed his words owing to the advice of monks;  
In order to fulfil his ambitions everywhere,  
He destroyed the monks by poisoning them."<sup>3</sup>

As there are no other evidences to prove this, the

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1. pp. 66, 67.
  2. vv. 497, 498.
  3. vv. 497, 498.

statement of the Mandārapuva-puvata may be taken for what it is worth.

Roman Catholics enjoyed the many advantages of the administrative service under the Portuguese. This principle was practised not only by them, but by their successors, the Dutch, and the English, who offered the top posts to the members of their congregations.

The principal object of the Dutch in the island was the development of trade in their own interests; nevertheless they were also keen proselytizers for their faith. But on the other hand they helped the Kandyan monarch to bring down Buddhist monks from a foreign country to re-establish the Higher ordination.<sup>1</sup> Here of course the motive was to win the good offices of the Buddhist monks for the sole purpose of plying peaceful trade with the Kandyan Kingdom. Thus the Dutch, meticulous as they were, operated a dual policy; on the one hand they showed an interest in the propagation of Buddhism and on the other they carried on a stern campaign by subtle means to win followers to their faith.<sup>2</sup>

Emmerson Tennent while analysing the causes of the

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1. See Ch. IX.

2. JRAS, (CB) Vol. XXX, No. 80, p. 402.

decay of Buddhism attributes it to the faulty conduct of the Buddhist monks and acquits the Dutch of this guilt.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch according to him directed their attack on the Catholic Fathers and their followers. This may be true. But history also proves that the religious policy of the Dutch was detrimental to the interests of Buddhism and its followers. What was the motive of Spilbergen the Dutch Ambassador in leaving behind Erasmus Mertis Burgher in the capital city? Was it not for the conversion of Vimaladharmasūrya I to the Protestant church? No stones were left unturned by this foreigner to fulfil this. It states very optimistically that Dona Catherina never believed in Buddhism and that even Vimaladharmasūrya did so only to curry favour with his subjects. According to his account Dona Catherina and her children all lived and dressed like Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

The Dutch no doubt persecuted Buddhism. They banned a religious ceremony scheduled to have taken place at Kālani Vihāra in 1692.<sup>3</sup> They also set fire to the religious buildings of this Holy place. Through the instrument of education too they carried on their conversions.<sup>4</sup>

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1. CC. p. 40.

2. JRAS (CB) Vol. XXX, No. 80, pp. 400/402.

3. CC. p. 57.

4. SHC. p. 55.

No non-Protestant was recruited to a responsible Government post. All had to register their marriages at the Protestant Churches. Even after the conversion, the recruits to the new faith employed in Government service, through sheer habit<sup>1</sup> still believed in their horoscopes and the efficacy of planets, and used such phrases as "May you attain Enlightenment". The Dutch tried to put an end even to this type of verbal freedom because of their religion.<sup>2</sup>

These facts no doubt prove that the religious policy of the Dutch struck a blow at the already tottering state of Buddhism. Speaking from a political standpoint, this period was a decadent one, being marked by a series of regrettable political bickerings. This naturally spiled the fortunes of Buddhism. Innumerable were the political agitations which the Bhikkhus and the general public had to participate in during these two and a half centuries of foreign rule.<sup>3</sup> In these uncertain political vagaries the Buddhist monks had to be necessary participants. If it had been in the times of the ancient Sinhalese Kings the Bhikkhus could have kept aloof from them. But unfortunately the monks during these times had to fight two non-Buddhist foreign nations the Portuguese and the Dutch.

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1. SHC. p.55.  
 2. CC. p. 57.  
 3. See Ch. I.

This naturally caused a set back to the Buddhist Church, as it too was dragged into and got entangled in the political affairs of the times.

### Political Revolutions.

The Buddhist monks of this decaying period were devoid of doctrinal knowledge and moral discipline. Even though they were aware of the teachings of the Master most of them were forced into politics by circumstances. Buddha foresaw the calamitous result that befell the Bhikkhus who dabbled in politics, and hence prohibited to them all conversation concerned with royalty and war.<sup>1</sup>

It has been already stated in this context that the persecution of Buddhism by Rājasiṃha I compelled the Buddhist monks to seek sanctuary in Kanda Uḍa-raṭṭa.<sup>2</sup> Rājasiṃha I held the whole Buddhist church responsible and threatened its very existence when he believed that Koṇappu Baṇḍāra was concealed by the Buddhist monks and that they had planned his escape to the Portuguese. The people of Hēvāhāṭṭa sacrificed a youth bearing identical features to the blood-thirsty king and effected the escape of Koṇappu

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1. Pācittiya Pāli-Rājavagga.

2. See Ch. II.



Baṇḍāra to Colombo. The king, highly infuriated by this act, beheaded 121 monks who were supposed to have given a helping hand to Baṇḍāra to flee to the Portuguese. He also destroyed a number of vihāras, according to Mandāram-pura Puvata, as a sequel to this:-

"Then the king having remanded him on that day,  
Killed the Buddhist monks, sixty one pairs and  
He reduced all Vihāras to ashes, one.  
and took revenge as they had instructed the Prince.<sup>1</sup>"

In Rājasiṃha I's reign the monks underwent a tragic period as a result of the persecutions carried out by this monarch.<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances the monks were compelled to enter the arena of politics. Their very existence was threatened. It was thus a battle of life and death for them. Hence no one can blame them for committing a forbidden act. It was the Mahā Thera Ratnālaṅkāra of Devanagala who mobilized the support of the Buddhist Church in particular and the country in general to enthrone Koṇappu Baṇḍāra on the throne of Uḍaraṭa.

According to Robert Knox several Buddhist Bhikkhus<sup>4</sup> who had a hand in the uprising against Rājasiṃha II were put

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1. v. 71.

2. Syāmapasampadā Vata p. 23.

to death by the monarch and their heads were flung into the river as an object lesson to the others.<sup>1</sup> Another instance of beheading a Gaṇinnānse<sup>2</sup> took place when one of them attempted to crown himself at Kurunāgala with the help of the Dutch. Vāliṇiṭṭa Sapaṇkara too was inevitably a participant in the political occurrences of the times.<sup>3</sup> All these facts only infuriated the monarch and consequently subjected the Buddhist Church to reprisals at the hands of Royalty instead of beneficence.

### Social Revolution

Another cause of the decay of Buddhism was the social change that was brought about by the arrival of diverse elements of South Indian races during the time of the Gampola and Kōṭṭe Kings. These adventurers in course of time were absorbed into the Sinhalese race. Further migration took place, when waves of Malayali arrived in Ceylon terrified by the invasions of Maravārayan.<sup>4</sup> They settled down in the North Western and the North Eastern regions. As quoted by both Buddha Rājāvaliya<sup>5</sup> and Vanni

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1. HRC.p.119.

2. This Gaṇinnānse is supposed to be an Andhra priest who in the guise of a Buddhist monk introduced a God called 'Namanāti Devi'.

3. See Ch. XI.

4. JRAS (CB) Vol.XXX, No.80, pp. 317-323.

5. No. 863. CPLM. (W.A. de Silva).

Rājāvaliya<sup>1</sup> they established their authority over an extensive territory running from Puttalam to Kurunāgala and from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva. However, the Sinhalese were determined to prevent them from gaining an authoritative foothold in the country. But Rājasiṃha Vittiya<sup>2</sup> describes the attempt made by them to counter the Sinhalese. They traced their connections with King Bhātiya on whose behalf they had fought the Kākamukkarayas in fierce battles and exterminated them for the sake of the Sinhalese. According to an ancient manuscript known as Tuḍugala Visid-āgama Pāvati,<sup>3</sup> the Malayalis and the Cholas who took refuge in Ceylon had received honorific titles from the Sinhalese Kings. They also intermarried with the noble families of the island and established a new Baṇḍāravaliya,<sup>4</sup> thus laying the foundation of a new caste in Ceylon. This Baṇḍāra clan is also known as Kalukapugolla.

A number of religious rites and sacrifices were introduced to this island by the Brahmins who were brought to Ceylon by Bhuvanekabāhu IV of Gampola and they are still to be found rooted in Sinhalese social customs.

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1. No. 2028 CPLMss. (W.A.de Silva).
  2. UV. p. 120.
  3. No. 2023 CPLMss. (W.A.de Silva).
  4. vv. 37, 38 MPP.

Religious performers from Āndhra and Śaiva ascetics and exorcists who gathered power in the reign of Rājasiṃha I succeeded in producing a new form of devotional faith and a novel method of invoking the support of super-normal beings.<sup>1</sup> The villagers of Ceylon, the less informed and credulous folk, readily adopted these new gods and believed in the efficacy of sacrifices performed on their behalf. The South Indians also brought their gods such as Aiyyanār and Pattini and such demons as Kaḍavara.<sup>2</sup>

#### Power of Āṇḍiyas.

According to Āṇḍimāle,<sup>3</sup> a contemporary poetical work, written by a brother of the Minister Aṁbanvela Yāpā, Āṇḍis who had then come to Ceylon planned a revolt in Kurupāgala District against King Rājasiṃha II. It has been described thus:-

"sat tira rajun raṭa karavanu dāka soṇḍurā  
gat raja ves Vilbāvē yak ādurā  
mat gaja pera biṇḍa dena naṇḍa dāka kesarā  
āt raṭa mādaṭa pāna āṇḍuvā vāni vaṇḍurā

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1. See Ch. II.

2. See Chs. VI and VII.

3. Ms. is in the possession of Labugama Laṅkānanda Thera. The poem was composed to attack Vilbāva Gaṇinnānse, who, being an Āndhra priest introduced himself as a son of Vijayapāla, the king of Mātale and sought the help of the Dutch to oust Rājasiṃha II. See ch. I also.

dāka lakḍiva nirindun gati me āṇḍi kolu kaṇṇaḍḍi raṭa  
 mama ek kumareka kiymīn āvā kelesada koḷaṁbaṭa  
 niriṇḍek sak paliyak lavamin siṭṭiyā dāka enaviṭa  
 riḷavek siṭṭiyā ekvāni loku nayekuge pena goba yaṭa"

Having seen how the strong kings govern the country  
 Vilbāve, the exorcist assumed the guise of a king;  
 He was like the monkey who, having seen how a lion  
 killed intoxicated elephants and roared,  
 Jumped amidst the herd of elephants and cried.

This Andhra vagabond from Kaṇṇāṭa saw the behaviour  
 of Ceylonese kings,  
 How dared he come to Colombo and say that he was a  
 Prince?  
 He resembled the monkey who saw a king under a  
 circular shield,  
 And stood under the hood of a great cobra."<sup>1</sup>

This shows that Vilbāve was an Āṇḍi exorcist who  
 tried to solicit Dutch support from Colombo against Rāja-  
 siṁha II, appearing as a son of Prince Vijayapāla of Mātale.  
 Āṇḍimāle describes it thus:-

"diḍa tara Rajasiha raju saha yuda vāda pārādī  
 biya koṭa  
 jaḍa nivaṭum mādaṭa āvit me koḷaṁba iṇḍa gōva  
 puraṭa  
 vāḍa pu niriṇḍu ātikaḷa kumaruya pavasana āṇḍi  
 koluṭa  
 kuḍa patakaṭa piri saṇḍa maṇḍalāyi kīvā vāni  
 duṭa haṭa."

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1. These similes have been used to condemn the Āṇḍi priest.

"A king who fought with strong Rājamiṃha  
 and fled in fear of being defeated;  
 He came to the heretics\* in Colombo and went to the  
 City of Goa.  
 That Andhra vagabond said that he was the son adopted  
 by him;  
 This was like saying that an umbrella is a full moon,  
 to one who had seen it."

This no doubt illustrates the power of the Hindu teachers and the fraudulent means which they adopted to enhance their power and influence. The yakha (demon) introduced by this Vilbāve into this island came to be known as the "anonymous god" (nama nāti) in subsequent times.<sup>1</sup> This powerful wave of belief in new deities and demons caused a revolution not only in contemporary Buddhism, but also in the life of the Bhikkhus of the times. The establishment of a Cola-Baṇḍāra clan brought in a stringent caste consciousness,<sup>2</sup> which had never existed before.

"Madurapuren ā Vittiya"<sup>3</sup> (Records of the arrivals from the city of Madura)" reports that the procuring of

1. See Ch. VIII.
2. Ms. Tuḍugala Visidāgama Pāviti Baṇḍāra Valiya. No. 2023. CPLMS. (W.A. de Silva).
3. JRAS. (CB) Vol. XXX. No. 80.

\* We use the term "heretics" as equivalent to the Sinhalese nivatam, to imply non-Buddhists. It must be remembered, however, that the connotation of this word is rather different from that of "heretic" in its Christian context.

princesses and princes from Madura by Vira Parākarama Narendrasingha enhanced the power of the South Indians. This act also elevated the South Indian gods and demons and also their representatives on the earth to a higher position in society. The Kandy Āsala Pershāra was originally held as a device for making offerings to the Hindu gods.<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist monks who had undergone degeneration during many centuries, became easy victims of these powerful forces. Pirit chanting and other religious functions appear to be occasions to Hindu practice. Caste feelings grew acute. Devotional faith in gods interfered with Buddhism. All these resulted in a final upheaval of Sinhalese society. Though bali offering, a new form of ritual was devised by Vidāgama to counteract these ritual performances of the Cola-Brahmins and their priests he only succeeded in popularising the virtues of Buddha among the common folk.<sup>2</sup> This too became mixed up with the Indo-Dravidian mythology and made religious functions more complicated. All these are depicted in the

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1. See Ch. VIII.

2. See Ch. II and also Horatoṭṭa Vata (Ed. Gunnāpāna Vajirañña Thera).

literary works of this decaying period.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian Brahmins who migrated to Ceylon during this period even occupied a place in Kandyan social life. A few of them also entered the Buddhist Order. One of the many is Buddhavaṃsa Thera of the Brahmin clan, who according to the Galgaṇe Vihāra Grant<sup>2</sup> obtained paddy lands at Māmpitiya from Vikramabāhu as a reward for writing Saṃyut Saṅgiya. He was the grandson of Thera Sakaladikvijayavaliya Raṃsi Koṇḍa of Parākramabāhu Pirivena.<sup>3</sup> These names indicate who they were. Several of these Indians eventually married women from the noble families of the country and were associated with the contemporary rulers. When Thera Upāli who came from Siam ordered the removal of head-dresses on entering image houses the Brahmins resented it.<sup>4</sup> No distinction was observed between Buddhist and Hindu religious practices. Both the Buddhist monks and the laymen were unable to differentiate between the Buddhist rites and customs from those of the Hindus. It was firstly this social revolution and secondly the Hindu cultural influence that caused a Buddhist-Hindu culture to evolve in the early part of the 18th century.

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1. See Ch. V.

2. JRAS (CB) Vol. XXXII, No. 84, p. 67.

3. Ibid.

4. EXH. Ess. C. Report, pp. 59-60.



Economy.

Another factor which caused the decay of Buddhism during this period was the deplorable economic system. Since the days of the Anurādhapura kings donations of tanks, reservoirs, lands and fields had been made towards the Buddhist church. According to the Abhayagiri Slab Inscription of Kāśyapa V and the Mihintale Tablets of Mihindu IV overseers were appointed to administer the temple lands. Hence the question of their maintenance did not devolve upon the Buddhist monks who could therefore engage themselves either in a course of study or in meditation.<sup>1</sup>

But the Kandyan feudal system coupled with the exploitation and the negligence of their administrators compelled the owner Bhikkhus to take an interest in them. All monks of these times were ignorant of the true precepts of Buddhism. What was important for them was the administration of the temple property but not the life they had sworn to follow. This misguided opinion made them believe that their administration promoted the ideals of Buddhism. Even in times of crisis they sacrificed their

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1. EZ. Vol.I, Part II.

robes but not the lands, for whose sake they became laymen. Nepotism they believed was the only lawful means of securing succession to the temple property. Bhikkhus of both Fraternities, instead of accomplishing the study of the doctrine, which would lead to the progress of the church, devoted themselves entirely to looking after the interest of the temple property.<sup>1</sup> This was the principal cause which led to the disappearance of upasampadā, brought hither twice from Arakan country.

#### Caste System.

Buddha's attack on the Brahminic caste system was one of the main factors which popularized his teachings even within his lifetime, in central India. The Buddhist church welcomed any member of the four castes, to its fold. This is clearly proved by the admission of Sunīta and Sōpāka<sup>2</sup> into the Buddhist church.

According to the Agreement of Daṁbadeṇiya,<sup>3</sup> family origin and background were to be tested and ascertained before a man had the necessary qualification for admission to the Saṅgha. But no definite ruling is available from

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1. Palkuṁbure Sannasa or Sūriyagoḍa Sannasa (Sūriyagoḍa Vihara, Pērādeṇiya).
  2. Catubhāṇa Vāra Pāli - Sāmaṇera Pañha
  3. Katikāvata Saṅgarāva p. 5 (Daṁbedeṇi Katikāvata).

the same source to the effect that the Higher ordination should be given to one particular caste. There is no evidence to show that King Parākramabāhu II, the ruler at the time, made his influence felt on this issue of the inclusion of caste as a necessary requisite for enrolment into the Saṅgha.

The power and the influence of the South Indian Dravidians which infiltrated profoundly in the Polonnaruva period effectively injected caste ideas into lay Buddhist society. It has been already described that a caste system, which had never manifested itself in the long history of this island, was created by the immigration of the Malayali princes and the Tamil Brahmins to Ceylon in the Kōṭṭe and the Kandyan periods. The Baṇḍāra clan established in Ceylon between these periods was another potent factor which further crystallized the caste divisions. Aristocratic presumptions are real obstacles to the realization of the ideal by any monk.<sup>1</sup> Upāli, the barber, was ordained by Buddha before a number of Sākya princes including Ananda. This was primarily intended to destroy the pride and conceit

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1. SN. Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta.

of the Sākya nobility.<sup>1</sup> The ordination of monks from one and the same caste in the Kandyan period resulted in confining Buddhism to a group, which otherwise was the common treasure of a large and far-flung society. If by chance the five or eight precepts were similarly confined to one caste, Buddhism would be fated to disappear in a sea or conglomeration of castes. As a result, the low caste monks who were devoid of the Higher ordination, lived a depressed life. Some therefore embraced Catholicism. Not only in the past but even today the prevalence of the caste system has only undermined the progress of Buddhism.<sup>2</sup>

#### Family Ties in the Buddhist Order

Another factor which caused the decay of Buddhism in this period was the relationship that existed between the teacher and the pupil. Some elders of the church who limited ordination to a single caste during these chaotic times ordained their own kinsmen to ensure the continuance of the fraternity.<sup>3</sup> This is quite clear from the following extract taken from the Kaḍadore Siṭṭuva:-<sup>4</sup>

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1. CVP. Saṅghabhedakakkhandhaka.
  2. See Ch. XIX.
  3. SVVP. p. 244.
  4. See Appendix No. 1.

"As His Noble Majesty Vimaladharmasūrya bedecked with the gems of all perfect virtues has sought refuge in heaven and as his successors who were to have attended to His work failed to do so, I, chief Thera Dharmakīrti Bhuvaneka virtuous and pious having lived here and looked after his interests and seen to their progress, performing customary rites and offerings for full forty years, do hereby at the end of my letter bestow upon my grandson Ekanāyake Sumaṇagala Gaṇannānse, all lands belonging to the chief of Asgiri Vihāra and all those lands which I have received in gratification for the services rendered to His Noble Majesty, according to my abilities". The lands thus received by the royal grant are the paddy land of area of three amuṇas<sup>1</sup> in Labutale and the dry lands and gardens connected with it; Kaḍadora Vihāra in Pallegampaha in Maturāṭa Kōrale and the paddy lands belonging to the temple cultivated with three amuṇas of paddy according to mutteṭṭu<sup>2</sup> share; two Pālas<sup>3</sup> (measures) of cultivable land in Pinarāva, a sowing extend of one amuṇa at Galkūṭiya, Gonnagaha Arāva property cultivable with two pālas, high land cultivable of one measure of Kurakkan; land cultivable with one amuṇa at Bōattarāve and the property connected with

- 
1. Six bushels.
  2. Paddy field, given on lease.
  3. One and a half bushels.

it; the land cultivable with one amūpa each at Koholāne; the paddy land cultivable with three Pālas at Hiriyal-oya; the land cultivable with 12 measures of Kurakkan at Vihārevatta; the land cultivable with 12 Kurakkan measures situated in the upper regions of the Vihāra; the land cultivable with one Pāla at Kapukoṭṭuva; all these and many others including village lands and gardens and also houses situated in them and the books found in them, two boxes of yellow robes, five boxes of cloths, nine gold chains, twelve silver chains, five styluses beautified with silver work; eight iron styluses, eight iron bowls, twenty three relics of Arahat; two golden vessels for chūnam, hundred and three axes, thirteen yellow hankeys, two golden blankets; eleven spittoons, nine lamps; two chains embedded with gems. One Nāliya (measure) of varāgam, nine hundred and fifteen silver pieces, and all inanimate and animate objects that I possess - do give to Ekanāyake Sumaṅgala Gaṇin who is my Grandson".

"You are a worthy inheritor of all my property and may you continue the meritorious work performed by me, making the customary offerings, etc. Otherwise you may ordain a descendent of one of my five brothers and sisters, a person full of merit, to continue the good work I have accomplished."

This passage illustrates the type of recruit enrobed as a monk at the time. By this, ordination, which was limited to one caste, came to be confined only to a close circle of relations.

When the heretics sought admission to the Saṅgha, Buddha ordered them to follow a probationary period of four months before they were finally admitted.<sup>1</sup> But it was not because He showed any favour towards His relations that He ruled out this in case of the Śākya heretics. Buddha was certain that the Śākyas though they had been heretics earlier would not attempt to ruin the Buddhist church, unlike those of other degrading communities.. Further proof may be deduced from the Palkuṃbura inscription to this effect. Higher Ordination brought to Ceylon on both these occasions disappeared as the Bhikkhus who received Upasampadā, instead of taking the necessary measures to secure its continuation, engaged themselves in enjoying the produce of the temple land in strict accordance with the Relative Pupillary System. That no other than a relation was admitted to the Church is disclosed by Muṅkoṭṭuva Rāla:-

"They ordained the children,  
Who were descended from them.  
To the outsiders who sought the ordination  
They gave no permission."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Mahā Vagga Pāli (Ed. Nanavimala) p. 66.  
2. SRV. v. 52.

### The Arakan Ordination.

Theravāda Buddhism remained a powerful force during a considerable period of Ceylon's history. But there are strong reasons to believe that the Upasampadā brought to the island in the reigns of Viṃhaladharmasūrya I and II was of a semi-Mahāyānist form.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the Menang Valley including Rakkhaṅga or Arakan was subjected to repeated invasions by the Chinese. In this region, though Theravāda Buddhism was still a recognizable force, the religious atmosphere was full of Hindu and Mahāyāna ideas. It may be tentatively surmised that the objection of Vāliiviṭṭa Saramāṅkara to bringing Upasampadā from Arakan was based on the conclusion that no form of Theravāda Buddhism was available in that country.

This deduction could be substantiated by reference to the Kaḍadora Grant. According to this work the head ornament of the Rakkhaṅga monks was presented to Labutala Gaṇinnānse after he received ordination as Dharmakīrti Bhuvanekabāhu.<sup>2</sup> Such an ornament was never worn by monks of the "Theravāda School". Besides, Gini-pīṭita, Jala-pīṭita, Jinapañjaraya etc., were chants which were not

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1. See Ch. IX.

2. See Appendix No. 1.



included in the Catubhānavāra Pāli.<sup>1</sup> But these became popular in the country after the establishment of the Arrakanese ordination.<sup>2</sup> Hence this attempted revival only led to worse complications in the already deteriorated state of Buddhism.

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1. All Suttās in this book have been extracted from the Suttā Piṭaka.
  2. See Ch. IX.

## CHAPTER IV

### Cultural History .

#### The Immoral Monk

The last chapters detailed the rapid degeneration of Buddhism and its custodians, the Buddhist Saṅga<sup>1</sup>. The bhikkhus of this decaying age were devoid of disciplinary control. It created a generation of morally corrupt bhikkhus of such a kind as history has failed to record in Ceylon, before or after. According to Robert Knox too there were two categories of bhikkhus, the Theras and Gaṇinnānses.<sup>1</sup> Both these terms are current even today among the Sinhalese of the Island.

#### Thera

Ten or twenty years of priesthood after the Higher ordination entitles a monk to become a therā.<sup>2</sup> Though this was customarily accepted by the bhikkhus, yet in the Daṁbadeṇiya period Theraship was granted after general agreement on the part of the elders.<sup>3</sup> Today this term has been confused and is used to denote even a new admission to the

1. HRC. p. 117.

2. Saṃyutta Nikāyattha Kathā - Samiddhi Sutta.

3. Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata, Katikāvat Saṅgarāva. p. 7.

Saṅgha.<sup>1</sup> Robert Knox speaks of a few Theras of the Kandyan times whose titles were bestowed by the king.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps his reference was to the Chief theras alone, as during this period too, the king followed the custom of appointing the Chief Thera, a precedent which was created by the Daṁbadeṇiya monarchs.<sup>3</sup> However, much importance cannot be attached to this statement of Robert Knox as in the subsequent chapter, he refers to Senarat, the successor of Vimaladharmasūrya I also as a thera.<sup>4</sup> Cūlavamsa and other similar works establish the fact that Senerat, having been a monk, discarded the robes for the specific purpose of becoming the ruler of Kandy. Hence Robert Knox, apparently ignorant of the true facts, might have given a wrong interpretation of what was stated in the Daṁbadeṇiya Agreement (Katikāvata). The Chief prelate was appointed by the reigning monarch whereas the leaders of different sects and other chief Theras were named by the church itself.

There was only a handful of Theras in the dark days of the Kandyan period and unfortunately for the history of Buddhism in Ceylon they also disappeared with the times.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Thera is the present official term used to denote either a Thera or a Sāmaṇera in Ceylon.
  2. HRC. p. 118.
  3. Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata. p. 8.
  4. HRC. p. 52.
  5. HRC. p. 118.

Though there were a number of monks who received the Higher ordination under Vimaladharmasūrya II most of them disrobed themselves within a short time. Some became Sāmaṇeras (novices).<sup>1</sup> The predecessor of Vāliiviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara who held the post of Saṅgharāja was the chief prelate of Pōyamalu Vihāre. He was called Vaṭabuluve Mahā Thera.<sup>2</sup> Those who were enrobed under the chief monks lived as novices without receiving Higher Ordination while on the other hand those who wore brown or white robes and followed the ten precepts came to be known as the pious ones (Silvat).<sup>3</sup> The two chief followers of Sarapaṅkara namely the pious Kadirāgoḍa and Ilupāngamuva entered the Church as Sāmaṇeras under the last Thera Hulangamuva.<sup>4</sup> Theras of this period were rich landed proprietors and there were many who served them for a living. They remained Sāmaṇeras and abstained from Higher Ordination for the primary purpose of looking after their properties which otherwise would not have been permissible.<sup>5</sup> This was one of the chief causes which led to the disappearance of the Higher Ordination brought hither from Arakan in Burma.

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1. Kadadora Grant (Appendix No. 1).
  2. SSC. p. 3.
  3. See Ch. X.
  4. SSC. p. 19.
  5. HRC. p. 118

Ganinnānse

In the dark hours of the Kandyan days Buddhist monks, apart from the Theras were known as Ganinnānses.

Robert Knox refers to them as Ganayi.<sup>1</sup> They also came to be known by such other names as Ganin, Ganinnānse, Ganello.<sup>2</sup> In Ruhuna they were 'Ganavolin'.<sup>3</sup>

Gana denotes a congregation. A congregation of four or more monks was known as a Saṅgha, and a gathering of less than four is referred to as Gana in the vinaya texts. In the commentary on the vinaya rule dealing with the feeding of a congregation, Kaṅkhāvitṭharaṇī explains Gana as a group of more than four monks who were invited without due politeness to accept one of the five meals.<sup>4</sup>

According to Mahāvagga Pāli (Cammakkhandhaka), a group of ten or more in Madhyadeśa and a group of four or more in remote areas was the required quorum for Higher Ordination. In some of the Buddhist texts a class of monks devoted to the study of Dhamma is referred to as 'Gana'.<sup>5</sup> In course of time the group of monks studying in Pirivenas, and those spending a probationary period under preceptors also came to be known as 'Ganas'.<sup>6</sup> But during the dark days of the Kandyan period

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1. Ibid.
  2. Vāhālle Sannasa. See Ch. XVII.
  3. Kaṅkhāvitṭharaṇī p. 23 (Ed. Hewavitarana).
  4. Central Province of India.
  5. DPA. Dvesahāyaka Vatthu.
  6. Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata. (Kalikāvata Saṅgarāva) p. 9.

this term was applied to all who were devoid of Higher Ordination.<sup>1</sup> Even today the 'Gaṇa' is a current term among the Buddhists. The present day Buddhist refers to a monk as 'Gaṇayā' or 'Gaṇinnāṇse' in condemnation, perhaps in accordance with the terms which identified the corrupted monk of the Kandyan times.

The dress of Gaṇinnāṇse consisted of a robe and a waist band worn tightly over it. Some others wore a yellow robe and a white cloth over it.<sup>2</sup> The later custom was adopted to escape from the revengeful hands of Rājasimha I of Sītāvaka and this habit presumably lasted for some time. Robert Knox does not assert the maintenance of families by Gaṇinnāṇse. Thus the condition of the Buddhist monks had not deteriorated so much in the reign of Rājasimha II. But the subsequent period gives a different picture of the conditions of the Buddhist Church. The reason no doubt was the worldly life which was adopted as the habitual mode of living by them. They constructed a house in close proximity to the Vihāro itself and lived a family life without heed or hindrance from the public.<sup>3</sup> Their places of residence in subsequent times, came to be known as Gaṇēgedara, Vihārēgedara,

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1. HRC. p. 118.
  2. Ibid.
  3. SRV. v. 64.

Gaṇēvalāvva, Vihārē Valavva etc.<sup>1</sup> Their children were called "Gaṇa Gāṭayas" (young Gaṇas).

The names of the Gaṇinnānses too are indicative of the dark period and reflect the shattered conditions of the Buddhist Church and its subjection to worldly lust. They discarded the religious names of the Church taking instead only the names of their birth place to which they added the common term Gaṇin e.g. Labutale Gaṇin,<sup>2</sup> Velaṅge Gaṇin,<sup>3</sup> Buddharakkhita Navaratna Gaṇin,<sup>4</sup> Vēhālla Gaṇavolin<sup>5</sup> etc. Some of these observed the ten precepts and attempted to live a pious life whereas others openly maintained families and brought up children. The public were aware of the immoral life of these as they could see for themselves the acolytes carrying a share of the day's begging to the family of the Gaṇin in open day light.

The following verse of Muṅkoṭuve Rāla bears ample testimony to it:-

They received various offerings,  
Made by the devotees;  
And distributed them among the relatives.  
Thus they spoiled the pure Order.<sup>6</sup>

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1. UV. p. 79.
  2. Kaddōra Grant (Appendix No. I.).
  3. Velaṅge Sannasa (SPL).
  4. Tissamahārāma Sannasa, in the possession of Indasāma Nāyaka Thera, Tissa.
  5. Vēhālla Sannasa (See Ch. XII).
  6. SRV. v. 62.

Trades and Occupations

Their means of making a living were manifold. Most of them lived on the income of the temple property, looking after and administering it with their families and kinsmen.

tiṇaṃ vā yadi vā kaṭṭhaṃ  
 pupphaṃ vā yadi vā phalaṃ  
 yō harē buddha bhōgassa  
 mahā pēto bhavissati.<sup>1</sup>

Grass or fire-wood

A flower or even a fruit,

If one takes from the Buddha's property

He will be a great goblin.

As implied in the foregoing stanza, even though they preached that the misappropriation of a blade of grass, a pebble, a fruit or a flower would inevitably plunge a person into purgatory or a lower birth, they offered to the Buddha the worth of only a small fraction of the Vihāra income and utilised the balance for furthering their own worldly interests. The people of the adjoining villages observing those who depended on temple properties and enjoyed their income, perhaps

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1. ~~SRV. v. 62.~~ Kadadara Grant.



through jealousy referred to the punishment awaiting them in the next world.<sup>1</sup> If ever a Gaṇinnāṇse desired to discard robes he first enrobed a relative like his brother, a son or an offspring in the church to ensure the inheritance of the vihāra property within his own family.<sup>2</sup>

### Diplomatic Mission

Some of the monks took part in diplomatic missions. The delegation despatched by Rājasimha II to the Dutch was headed by Gaṇe Baṇḍāra Gaṇinnāṇse of Pōyamalu Vihāre.<sup>3</sup> Some others received the official designations of Disāvas and Basnāyakas from the King. In the reign of Virā Parākrama Narendrasimha the Kobbākaḍuve Gaṇinnāṇse of Pōyamalu Vihāre being the distinct ruler of Puttalam officiated as the Basnāyaka Nilame of the Four Devāles of Uḍunuvara.<sup>4</sup>

Though Robert Knox has stated that Buddhist monks never took to agriculture or officialdom, still many of the Gaṇinnāṇses who followed in the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya II worked as royal officials or attended to cultivation of lands and paddy fields.<sup>5</sup> Diverse forms of rājakariya or royal duties were performed by the different castes. This royal custom compelled them to carry out those duties even after their

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1. HRC. p. 118.

2. Kaḍadora Grant

3. See Ch. I.

4. CA. Vo. I, pt.2, p. 121.

5. Ms. Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya. (This ms. has been named as Kīṣiri Caritaya by Hugh Neville).

admission to the Saṅgha. Thus some worked as washermen while many others worked as labourers carrying pingoos. Some also carried out their caste duty of beating drums.<sup>1</sup> Many were those who were engaged in some variety of trade according to one's own caste. Some other Gaṇinnānses who excelled themselves in literary composition were the recipients of royal rewards and lived a sensible worthy<sup>2</sup> life educating the youth of the village.

### Sermons

The common subject of the Gaṇinnānses in their sermons to the people was the Jātaka Story. The popular method of preaching was to narrate a Jātaka like the Vessantara and to explain its significance. Seldom<sup>3</sup> could the audience comprehend this type of preaching. Sermonizing from two seats also caught the eye of the people of this period, while one beat a hand drum (udakkīya) the other recited the versified Vessantara Jātaka or any other Jātaka melodiously. This started in the evening and went on through the whole night till the following morning. This was no doubt one of the most popular regular methods of preaching the Dhamma during the decadent period. Invitations

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1. See Vagēgoḍa Sandeśaya, Indasābha Varañāṇa Caritaya.
  2. See the end of this chapter.
  3. HRC. p. 119.

to sermons consisting of verses and addresses composed in the vṛtkagandhi (semi verse)<sup>1</sup> style were started by them.

Jātaka stories composed in small metrical verses were also recited in the way of Bana Preaching. Where two preached, one read out the Pāli words and the other sang their meanings. As these were musically recited the people contented themselves with the sound of what they heard rather than with its meaning. Other compositions like wise used for recitation were the Baṇadahampota, Kurudharma Jātaka and Dasadharmā Jātaka.<sup>2</sup> All these were made use of till recent times for the same purpose.

The offering of cows and offerings<sup>3</sup> made to the dead which became popular owing to the influence of Hinduism were also utilized by the monks to ensure another source of income. Those on the death bed gave alms with the aim of entering a better world. These included cows and many other types of offerings. The Buddhist monk of this decadent period was greatly benefited by such offerings<sup>4</sup> as cows which was undoubtedly a legacy of the Hindu faith. The act of

1. These are known as cūṇikas.

2. These Mss., used by them are still to be seen in the Library of Potgul Vihāra, Haṅguranketa.

3. 'go dāna'. This has been known as 'vetaraṇī dhenu dāna' in Grhya Sūtras, to wit,

yamadvāre mahā ghore  
khyātā vetaraṇī nadī  
tartu kāmō dādāmyetām  
tubhyaṃ vetaraṇīmtu gām

4. HRC. p. 119.

transferring merit to the dead existed even in the time of Buddha.<sup>1</sup> Hindus termed it 'the offering to the dead' (pitṛ piṇḍa dāna). Thus it was presumably offered to alleviate the suffering of the dead relative.

### Belief in Re-birth

The Hindu conception of rebirth which teaches the migration of the soul from one world to another was what the Gaṇinnāṇse believed to be the correct one. Though Buddhism believes in re-birth it denies the existence of a soul. Hence re-birth in Buddhism is not the transmigration of the soul found in Hindu mysticism. The Buddhist conception is based on the non-transmigration of any material form out of a dead being. The ignorance, craving and action of a living being conceive a consciousness (viññāṇa) in another birth. The cause of action in this world only gives a result in the next birth but nothing more.<sup>2</sup> No transmigration of a soul takes place as is believed in Hinduisms. If there are no fetters such as craving, nothing results in the following birth. This has been described by Buddhaghosha thus:-

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1. Tirokudḍha Sutta-Petavatthu.
  2. 'naca so naca anno'.

A mere concept conditioned by factors  
 Will migrate to this birth;  
 There is no migration thence,  
 Nor does it arise without a cause.<sup>1</sup>

But the Ganinnāṇse who delivered the sermon<sup>2</sup>  
 on the death of a person narrated the Vessuntara or some  
 other Jātaka thus following the characteristically Hindu  
 method of transferring the merit to the dead for the purpose  
 of saving his soul or life.<sup>3</sup>

#### Offering to departed ones (pretas)

The bhikkhu for convenience stayed overnight  
 at the house of the funeral after the delivery of the sermon.  
 He usually slept on the bed of the dead person. On those  
 occasions he devised a method of duping the people for his  
 benefit.

After the delivery of the sermon the bhikkhu  
 took his lodging in the room where the dead man lay. While  
 going to bed he informed the household that the dead would  
 visit him in the course of the night if he was satisfied with  
 the offerings so far made. The household instructed by the  
 monk made a wick out of rags and tied three pebbles with  
 two ends and one in the middle. This candle was then well

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1. Visuddhi Magga - Paññābhūmi niddesa.
  2. Even today this versified Jātaka is recited in houses of  
 funeral for seven days in Ceylon.
  3. HRC. p. 119.

soaked in oil and placed on a copper vessel. It was burnt in the course of the night at the end of which the three pebbles would fall on the vessel creating a small noise. This sound was supposed to be the arrival of the dead being who would speak to the household in a modulated voice. Eventually he would give a list of articles that were to be offered to the bhikkhu in his name. This was accordingly carried out by the relations. The list occasionally included not only cattle and herds of buffaloes but lands and fields.<sup>1</sup> These were customarily followed by offerings to the dead too. In this connection a tray was made by the bhikkhu himself. On this was placed a variety of food the like of which he relished while alive. The following stanza was recited by the bhikkhu on this occasion,

gandham dīpaṃ ca dhūpaṃ ca  
 pāṇīyam bhojanam pica  
 patigaṇhantu santuṭṭhā<sup>2</sup>  
 ñati petā idam balim

May the departed relatives receive  
 This oblation, including scent and the lamp,  
 The fragrant smoke and water,  
 Together with food, with pleasure.

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1. HRC. p. 119.

2. 'patigaṇhantu saṅkappo' according to some versions.

The household too believing it to be the successful conclusion of the offering made in the name of their dead relations escorted the monk to the temple in pomp and grandeur.<sup>1</sup> This offering to the dead which is akin to the *pitr piṇḍa dāna* (offering to the dead forefathers) and dissimilar to the *prāpti dāna* (or transference of merit) is still observed in the remote villages of Ceylon. Nevertheless the sermon of the dead, a monastic feature of the decadent times, is no more.

#### Pirit (paritta)

The Pirit chanted by them resembles the blessings and the invocations used by the Hindus. As in devil dancing ceremonies, betel, kusa grass and tender leaves of iron wood become regular items in pirit chanting. Invoking the blessings of the gods, the beating of drums became an essential accompaniment in such ceremonies. Physical purity on these occasions was considered essential. It was considered to be important probably due to the collaboration of the gods in the pirit ceremony. Among the *gāthās* chanted on these occasions Mahāyāna ones took the pride of place.<sup>2</sup> Some of these verses meant to invoke the blessings of the Buddha survive even today and undoubtedly

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1. HRC. p. 119.

2. See Ch. III.

have the distinctive mark of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Thus the stanza:-

nisinno bhagavā ramme  
mandire ratanujjale  
sattahāṃ sammāsī sammā<sup>1</sup>  
dhamma dhātu manuttaram

may be considered to be of importance at this point.

The Buddha seated in a chamber  
Beautiful and resplendent with gems  
Recollected well on seven days  
The Dhammadhātu which is unique.

The Cūlavamsa refers to Dhammadhātu as a work of the Vaitulya-<sup>2</sup>vādins (heretical Buddhist). It further mentions that it was brought to Ceylon by a merchant named Punṇa but it was found to be a work of the unorthodox Buddhists and was burnt in the reign of Silākāla. Even so the monk in the dark age of Kandy, saying that Buddha recollected the Dhammadhātu when he was seated in the golden chamber, invoked blessings by the virtue of that fact. Similarly, it was at this time that the Parittas like Jinapañjara, Aṭṭa-visi pirita, Ginipirita Jalapirita, etc., were held in high esteem for chanting. The

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1. Ms. Jayamaṅgala gāthā. No 1165 C.P.L. Ms (W.A.de Silva).  
2. Ch. VII.



following is a stanza recited by almost all Buddhists in worshipping the Buddha.

ye ca buddhā atītā ca  
 ye ca buddhā anāgata  
 paccuppannā ca ye buddhā  
 ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā.

Those Buddhas who were in the past,  
 Those Buddhas who will be in the future,  
 Those Buddhas who live at present,  
 I adore them always.

Here in this Pāli stanza "paccuppannā ca ye Buddhā" refers to the Buddhas of the present era. In Theravāda Buddhism, mention has been made of 28 Buddhas of whom none survives at the present time. According to the Mahāyānists there are many Buddhas living in the heavens<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that this Pāli verse of ritual was composed by those influenced by Mahāyānism<sup>2</sup> during its declining period.

Apart from this, there were some Bhikkhus who functioned as devil dancers. In describing these pre-

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1. Dr. E.J.Thomas. History of Buddhist Thought. Ch. XIV.
  2. This form of Mahāyāna ritual came, due to the advent of ordination from Rakkhāṅga.

occupations of impious monks, Gammulle Ratanapāla Thera says that they had engaged themselves in the art of exorcising devils, and such other practices of superstitious arts.<sup>1</sup> Gonzalvez has described it thus:- "Knowing such abuses there are Ganellos who yet give them offerings. Therefore in this country there is only the name of Buddha but not a religion. People offer only flowers to Buddha but give fruits and other material offerings to evil spirits. Hence, there is only the worship of evil spirits and not Buddha in this land."<sup>2</sup>

From this statement we can infer that Gonzalvez had an understanding of the Buddha's doctrine and had therefore cynically mentioned the superstitious practices of the Ganinnānse who having exorcised the devil kept the income for himself after the devil had departed.

This is evidence of the fact that Buddhism had almost disappeared owing to these superstitious practices of the Ganinnānses. These malpractices among the members of the Saṅgha were due to lack of learning with regard to the Buddhist doctrine as well as to their being untrained in the art of living owing to the scarcity of land or agriculture,

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1. Sinhala Vimāna Vastuprakaranaya. Page 245.
  2. Buddha Bāṇa Pratyakshaya (1932) Ed. Page 45.

and therefore evoke sympathy rather than contempt or disgust  
for these unfortunate monks.<sup>1</sup>

Some Gaṇinnāṇses were engaged throughout the night in evoking blessings of gods and exorcising evil spirits in the houses of patients, while others had become native physicians.

Munkoṭṭuve Rāla in the following verses describes the immoral behaviour of the Gaṇinnāṇses.

Devoid of religious practice  
They spoiled noble families,  
They did not learn the Doctrine,  
But practised astrology and medicine.

By winning most of the people thus,  
They earned wealth,  
And looked after wives and children,  
That was the only morality they observed.<sup>2</sup>

During this period of decline, monks had been worshipping various deities extensively; some had even worshipped evil spirits. They grew accustomed to this worship of gods and evil spirits as a result of the advent

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1. Sāsanaṇvatiṛna Varnanā. Page 21.  
2. Saṅgarājavata, vv. 59, 60.

of these traditions along with the South Indian Tamils.<sup>1</sup> However, these monks of the declining period rendered an important service to society which was none other than the conversion of newly introduced South Indian Hindu Gods into Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Other monks had created new Gods for worship, as related in *Āṇḍimālaya*.<sup>3</sup> An *Āṇḍiyā* named Vilbāve had introduced a God named "Namanāti devi" which he tried to popularise. Though "*Āṇḍimāle*" mentions Vilbāve as an *Āṇḍiyā*, Robert Knox depicts him as a Gaṇinnānse. According to Robert Knox this Gaṇinnānse who had created the "Namanāti devi" or "anonymous god" had to flee from Kurunāgala to Colombo when Rājasimha II had ordered his arrest.<sup>4</sup>

Although they lacked learning in the doctrine, yet they were well versed in astrology and native medicine. From the income acquired, they maintained their families. They were not pious, but because of the social usefulness of their secular occupations, they achieved a general acceptance among the population.

#### Diyasena

The belief concerning the advent of Diyasena which had caused such curiosity among the population, was also

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1. See Ch. V.

2. See Ch. V.

3. The copy is with Lankānanda Thera.

4. HRC pp. 134-135

popularised by the monks during this period.

Tell me, O traveller, where do you come from, Oh, Brahmin,  
I return from Samanala;

Stay a little. Tell me the news there, Brahmin,

God Sumana said thus:

After two thousand five hundred years a Universal King  
will come.

Friend, tell his name. He is our present King Pārakum.<sup>1</sup>

This verse from Pārakumbā Sirita, creates the belief that the God Saman had declared to a wayfarer that in the 2,500th year of the Buddhist era, King Śrī Parākramabāhu VI would be consecrated as a world Emperor.

The Bhikkhus of the declining period had misinterpreted, because of exaggeration, the glory of King Śrī Parākramamabāhu VI described by the poet.

#### Sumana Sutta.

He identified Diyaṇā in this verse as Diyasena<sup>2</sup> and composed a special Sutta to introduce the latter. To give the impression that it was preached by the Buddha in Divāgāhā when he visited Ceylon, the monk starts the Sutta

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1. Pārakumbā Sirita v. 116.

2. Ms. Sumana Sutta, No. 1515 CPLMss. (W.A.de Silva).

thus:

"Evaṃ me sutāṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Sumanakūṭaṃ divāguhaṃ viharati, bhāgavato desitaṃ sumana suttanti." (Thus have I heard, at a certain time the Buddha lived in Divāguhā on the mountain of Sumana. The Sumana Sutta was preached by the Buddha"). Apart from this Pāli passage which appears at the beginning of almost all the Suttas, the other part has been written entirely in bad Sinhalese. It deals with the history of Buddhism in Ceylon from the time of the Buddha's visit to the Island up to the time of the Dutch invasion and was totally based upon legends.

Diyasena myth.

The intention of the Diyasena myth was to inspire confidence and hope among the people both lay and clergy, in a new glorious future, in this decadent era when both religious and political fortunes were at a very low ebb. Thus ends this sūtra, which attempts to give the impression that it was actually preached by the Buddha - "King Diyasena with the multitude of his army will rule over ten thousand princedom of Jambudvīpa for fourteen years and will depart from there bound for Ceylon. At Mahabaṭutota he will disembark with his armies and march in procession towards Anurādhapura, and establish his rule there and rule for twenty two years

before passing away".<sup>1</sup>

This Sutta is not mentioned anywhere in the Tripitaka. As it mentions the history of Ceylon only up to the arrival of the Dutch, and nothing of the history of the sāsana later, we can conclude that this was composed during King Rājasimha II's reign. The Diyasena myth became popular after being mentioned later in the preachings of bhikkhus of the Kandy period. Further, some authors of the later period wrote books to supplement and reinforce this myth. This is included in the Kaḍayimpota dealing with the Anurādhapura Region.<sup>2</sup>

The Diyasena myth, born during the Kōṭṭe period and gaining momentum in the Kandyan period had become so dominant that monks of present day Ceylon, dared to name the late Premier who happened to be in office in the 2500th year of the Buddhist era as the "Diyasena"! The Premier who noted that this was getting out of hand declared that Diyasena was not himself but the common people!<sup>3</sup>

Some Gaṇinnānses of the Kandyan period, owing to ignorance of Buddhism dared to embrace other faiths. A noted Chief Gaṇinnānse of Kandy had embraced Roman Catholicism and had himself baptised by Gonzalvez, as "Marcelline".<sup>3</sup>

1. Ms. Samana Sutta Colophon, No. 1515 CPLMss. (W.A.deSilva).
2. Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike speaking on Wesak Day, 1956 at Independence Square.
3. LFJG. p. 7.

Gonzalvez feared to send him back to Kandy, after his baptism at Colombo. He was therefore despatched overseas for missionary activities.<sup>1</sup> The monks of the period had given up the begging bowl and took their meals on flat-plates. They did not know the art of begging for alms. One day King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha invited the bhikkhus of both Pōyamaluva and Asgiriya temples for an alms giving. There he asked the monks what is the "Aṭapirikara?" They said,

"pattam parissāvana Kāyabandhanam

ticīvaram vāsi sūciṇca saṅghe,

Bowl, water strainer, belt

Three robes, razor and needle are offered  
to the Saṅgha"

which mean that the "aṭapirākara" was begging-bowl, seive, belt, three robes, razor, needle. Then the King inquired where their begging bowl was, and finding that they had none he ordered that they should carry it henceforth.<sup>2</sup> A poet, the grandson of Gūḍumbagasvāve Mudaliṇḍu, had written Vinaya Sivupada"<sup>3</sup> reminding immoral monks of the rules of Vinaya, when monks ate from plates and leaves. The poem ends with an appeal to God Upulvan.

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1. LEJG, p.7.

2. SVP, p. 248.

3. Ms. A copy of this, found among the collection of Hugh Neville of British Museum is also available with the author. Though the poet is not erudite yet he portrays the conditions of the time.



This poet accuses God Upulvan who had taken the guardianship of Buddhism from God Sakra, for failing in his duty to protect the religion:

tedāt upulvan devi hāmaduruvaṇē  
 edat bāridēta āyi oba bāra vuṇē  
 adat kirimuhūda māda nāga āsanē  
 medat munisasna nāta lova anumanē

Oh! glorious lord, Upulvan,  
 Why did you pledge to do what was impossible that day?  
 Today you lie on the snake seat in the milky ocean,  
 Buddhist order is surely not present in the world.

All this points to the fact that the rules of discipline among the saṅgha had deteriorated. It is only with a knowledge of this background that one can estimate the greatness of Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja's service to Buddhism. Their contributions.

Though the Buddhist clergy had declined to such low depths, their contributions to art and literature were remarkable. They preserved ancient books and works of art from complete destruction,<sup>1</sup> and they produced new works both religious and literary.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Palkumbure Sannasa.
  2. CPL Mss. No. 950 (W.A.deSilva).

That they always made it a point to incite people to give patronage for writing books is seen from the following Pāli verse at the beginning of the Dharmānu-sāṅgaaya:<sup>1</sup>

likhāya pālito dhammam  
navakotī sahasakam  
kappam akkhara ganānāya  
cakkavatti bhavissati

If one writes the doctrine in Pāli,  
He will be a universal monarch  
During nine thousand crores of aeons  
According to the number of letters.

The significance of this Pāli verse is that those who write or make others write the doctrine in Pāli, will be born as universal kings during nine thousand crores of aeons, for each syllable. Though the Buddha had not preached thus, it was due to similar entreaties that books dealing with the religion were preserved from extinction.<sup>2</sup>

Another notable service rendered by the immoral monk was the maintenance of temple lands and statues. Though the Buddhist clergy enjoyed the fruits with their kith and kin yet they did not allow such lands to be neglected and go hollow.

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1. CPL Mss. No. 950 (W.A.de Silva).
  2. Similar mention is found in Sarana Sutta (Colophon).  
CPLMS. No. 306. (W.A.de Silva).

So sacred was the offering done in the name of the Buddha, that he himself offered the "Buddha pūja".

The monks though degenerated yet contended to perform a service as teachers. They did not teach the village children the doctrine of the Buddha as much as medicine, astrology, witch-craft, black magic, music, dancing, etc. It was a monk of this era that wrote a book<sup>1</sup> about the dancing introduced to Ceylon from South India. That accounts for the reason why the dance remained Tamil, while the verses were Buddhistic. Some Ganinnānses were able compilers of ola leaf books. Such works are in great demand today. Some had taught these various crafts to different castes as a profession and thus perpetuated them, while others became very famous artists themselves.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture, paintings, and statues finished by these artists were excellent. For their service to various arts, they even received royal patronage and favours.<sup>3</sup> Because of the new lease of life, given by the monks, the ordinary monk although degenerated, had yet occupied an esteemed position in the village combining the rôles of patron, teacher and artist in one person.

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1. *Nrutya Upata* Ms. of *Māgapattalame Dharmakirti*.
  2. Statues at *Legaldoruva* and *Ridi Vihāre* etc., were works of *Devaragempola Pious* one.
  3. *HRC.* p. 175.

Thus some monks who had realised their power as teachers and patrons of society did not hesitate to rouse the people into action when the nation, race or religion had met with positive dangers. On the other hand, the pious monk did indeed observe the rules of the religion faithfully. But when the nation and religion were in danger, they could not make any positive contribution. There was always a section among the Buddhist clergy who emerged as national leaders in times of external threats.

When King Rājasiṃha II banned the annual Asala Perahēra of Kandy, it was Kobbūkaḍuve Sirinivāsa, the chief monk of Pōyamala Vihāra, who instigated Ambanvela Rāla<sup>1</sup> to rise in revolt against the King.

Though the King had a number of monks executed in retaliation, finally he had to submit to them.<sup>2</sup>

When Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha and Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṃha had accepted the books of Gonzalvez and permitted him to put up Catholic churches, the monks had risen against them.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, both Kings had to bow their heads to the wish of monks. When the Kandyan kingdom was about to pass into the hands of the British Crown without any treaty or conditions, it was Vāriyapola Thera's action that led to the

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1. JRAS (CB) 11.2.1955 Publication.
  2. HRC.p.119.
  3. LFJG.pp.80-117.

<sup>1</sup>  
Kandyan Convention.

Even the recent personages <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> ad Mohottivatte  
Gupānanda and Battaramulle Sṛī Subhūti achieved pre-  
eminence which was not due to their piety but to the un-  
restrained attack on those who were subservient to alien  
power and ways of life. In the light of these facts,  
some monks in the dark period of decline, though not pious,  
were the guardians of religion and race. Such service was  
probably due to the inestimable freedom they enjoyed.

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1. Kandyan convention 1815.
  2. Pānādura Vādaya.
  3. Durvādahṛdaya Vidāranaya.

## CHAPTER V

### Cultural History

#### South Indian Influence

In the former chapter we have shown how the South Indian invasions which extended over a period of 400 years extensively transformed Sinhalese social life and organisation and gradually led to the decline of Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, arts and crafts, literature and religious practices were strongly subjected to South Indian influence.

#### Literature.

Though many scholars are prone to regard the period prior to the birth of Vālivita Saṅgharāja Thera as constituting a dark chapter in the literary history of the Kandyan period,<sup>2</sup> actually the contrary is the case. It can be shown that for sheer numbers the literary works of this period far surpassed any other period of Ceylon history. Dr. C.E.Godakumbure in his book 'Sinhalese Literature' gives an extensive account of the subject.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the Kōṭṭe period Sinhalese poets followed the rules laid down in the Elusañḍās Lakuna as regards metre and verse structure

1. See Ch. IV.

2. Sīṃhala Sāhitya Vamśaya - p. 232 (by P.B.Sannasgala, M.A.)

3. Sinhalese Literature Chs. 22 and 23.

(i.e. gī and sivupada). But the poets of the Kandyān period used new metrical forms such as Vannam, Avadānam, Savudam and Sindu.<sup>1</sup> These new metrical patterns were the result of the South Indian influence. The Praśasti poems such as Parāṅgi Haṭana mostly contain verses closely related to the new metrical system mentioned above.

The verses dealing with the sorrow of separation 'Virahālāpa' found in the panegyric (Praśasti Kāvya) are the result of the South Indian influence on literature. It is in the Pārakumbā Sirita, which is considered to be the first panegyric poem, that the verses dealing with sorrow of separation 'Virahālāpas' are found.

Bees, having left the flowering forest of jasmine  
suck the nectar of water lilies  
The noise of the intoxicated cuckoo is so great that  
it resembles a devil's voice  
Oh, king Śrī Saṅghabodhi Śrī Parākrama, of the solar  
race,  
Friend, as I am not aware of your arrival, I have no  
sleep looking for you.

The above verse, which deals with the complaint of a lover separated from King Pārakumbā, is a good example of Virahal. This Virahal style was so popular among the poets of the Kandyan period that not only panegyric but also war poems<sup>3</sup> (Hatan kāvya) and other smaller poetical works

1. JRAS (CB) Vol. XXI, No. 61.

2. Pārakumba Sirita v. 135.

3. Parangi Hatana (Ahālepola Varnana) Vaduga Hatana.

contain the Viraha elements.<sup>1</sup>

Further, some poets were not above the use of Tamil works in their poetical compositions.<sup>2</sup> In the Daṁbadeṇiya or the Kōṭṭe period the Jātaka stories or the Buddhist stories provided the theme for many poems, alternatively they dealt with the qualities of Buddha (Buddhagūṇa). But the poets of the Kandyan period increasingly obtained their themes from South Indian mythology and ritual.<sup>3</sup> This was a result of South Indian influence on literature and life during that period. Thus there are many small poems dealing with such themes composed about the same time. Pattini Hālla, Vetālaṁ Kathāva are good examples of such smaller poems.<sup>4</sup> As in the Kōṭṭe period poems dealing with gods became extremely popular. It may be thought that this period is a time in which much literary activity was not evident because most poems did not deal with Buddha; but the truth is that most of these works remained unknown.

However, it must not be inferred from what has been said above that there were no works dealing with the Buddha's life and qualities. The poem 'Sumugudā' by Mahāsena

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1. Siyabasmaldama: Kirama Dharmānanda Thera.

2. See Khālepolā Varnanāva.

3. See Chs. VII, VIII.

4. Dravidian Elements in Sinhalese: Dr.C.E.Godakumbure (BSOS) p. 505.



is an important literary work of this time.<sup>1</sup> Yet it seems that most of such works dealing with the virtues of the Buddha were meant for ritualistic chanting to cure the sick and the possessed.<sup>2</sup> In such cases these poems served, as in the Jātaka stories, in conveying the qualities of the Buddha to the ordinary man, who enjoyed them for the elegance of language and metre. The verse,

budubava matu labami sitā kaḷa vīriya saṁsārē  
 siṇḍu māda nāva gilunu kaḷaṭa ellā gena mavun urē  
 vādu mātā galavam māyi bāsa pīnā maha sayurē  
 siṇḍa biṇḍa yē e anuhasin vina dosa obā devurē<sup>3</sup>

"I shall achieve enlightenment in future" he thought and  
 strove in the cycle of births,  
 When the ship sank in the ocean, with his mother on his  
 back,  
 He swam in the great ocean and thought "I shall save the  
 mother who gave birth to me"  
 By the power of that fact may the spell in your shoulder  
 disappear.

contained in Subasiri Maṅgalyaya, when musically chanted, will give an indication of the extent of the enjoyment which the ordinary man obtained from such verses. This verse which was meant to cast off spells lacks in the last line two mātrās, but this breach in structure does not injure the meaning and musicality of the poem. Thus it is difficult to say that

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1. Siṃhala Sāhitya Vaṅśaya p. 57.
  2. Pāramitā Sāntiya etc.
  3. Ethnology Vol. III, p. 29 ( Hugh Nevill).

such elegant poems were the product of a dark age of literature. In such poems of blessing the nine qualities of the Buddha have been set to verse and the poets did not fail to illustrate each quality of the Buddha by a tale taken from the Buddhist scriptures.

The following verse contained in the small poetical work *Navagunāsanti*<sup>1</sup> though abounding in repetition is so saturated with musicality of diction and meaning that it can be concluded that the poet has performed a difficult task exceedingly well:-

balā munidu vālañḍu taliya uḍugañ hāra suba  
 balā derana palā gosin vāṭunu taliya suba  
 balā munidu buḍuvana bava nā raju dāka suba  
 bagavatōya e anuhasin dōsaya bāsa suba

The Buddha looked at the bowl he used and sent it up  
 stream,  
 As he looked down, the earth was cloven asunder and  
 the bowl fell in,  
 The Nāga king saw it and realised that the enlightenment  
 would be achieved.  
 By the power of 'Bhagavato' may the spell vanish away.

The worship of gods by the Buddhist peasants, due to the fear of devils instilled into them by the influence of South Indian mythology, led to these ritualistic practices. But the poets of the time earn our praise for having inserted

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1. MS.CPL.Mss (W.A.de Silva) 1223.

verses regarding the Buddha into these poems designed for ritualistic chantings. In such poems dealing with origins of gods and demons and the methods of worshipping them, the poet very often has inserted verses dealing with the qualities of the Buddha or stories relating to the life<sup>1</sup> of the Buddha.

### Arts and Crafts.

The dance forms brought from India to Ceylon are today known as Kandyan dancing. At first, these dances were used by devil dancers in devil driving ceremonies such as Yakkam, and later they came to be regarded as a national art form. Though the dance form was brought to Ceylon from South India, the songs and verses associated with it for the most part, related stories of the Buddha and his qualities. *Mṛtya upata* written by Nāgapaṭṭalamā Dharmakīrti, a novice<sup>2</sup> in the Malvatta monastery contains evidence of this fact.

The art, architecture and sculpture of this<sup>3</sup> period were also subjected to South Indian influence. The interior section of the Laṅkātilaka Vihāra situated near Pērādeniya shows a remarkable affinity to the lower section

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1. See Chs. VI and VII.

2. *Ethnology* Vol. I, p. 267.

3. *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* - Ananda Coomaraswamy - Ch. XVII.

of the Hindu Devāla known as the Gr̥hagarbāa, Atulmāle and Maṇḍapa.

This fact is very clearly seen at Gaḍalādeṇiya Buddhist temple. This vihāra built in the reign of Bāuvanaka<sup>1</sup> bāhu IV was the residence of Dharmakīrtthi Thera II. The stone inscription found here states that the architectural work was done by a South Indian craftsman known as Gaṇeśvarācārya.<sup>2</sup> Dharmakīrtthi Thera who resided here is credited with having renovated the ancient temple at Amarāvati in India and having built a temple at Kānci also in India. Therefore it can be surmised that he had close connections with South India. The temple at Gaṇegoḍa of Alavature in the Kūgalle district, now in ruins, is stated<sup>3</sup> by Mr. Bell to have been in similar style.

That this architectural form was formed in the Kandyan period is seen by the strong South Indian influence, as the architecture of the buildings built later, Nātha Devāla, Adāhana Maluva and Gaḍalādeṇiya boast of the triumphal arches known as Geḍiges which are completely South Indian in structure.<sup>4</sup> The only evidence of Buddhist influence is seen in the dāgāba on the top of the geḍige. The Galama-duva in Kuṇḍasāle is considered to be an important architectural

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1. Author of Nikāya Saṅgrahaya.
  2. MSA Vol. IV. pp 90/110.
  3. Report on the Kūgalle District. pp33-35.
  4. Dr. S. Paranavitana (Buddhist Encyclopedia specimen) p.15.

type. Here is seen South Indian, European and Muslim influence.<sup>1</sup> The moonstones belonging to the Kandyan period when compared with those of the Anurādhapure period are seen to be more ornate. The moonstones at the Temple of Tooth and at the Potgulvihāra at Haṅguranketa show the extensive changes wrought in their designs by South Indian influence.

Paintings and sculptural works of the Kandyan period also reflect this influence from South India. The statues, image houses, paintings and fretwork were also executed by the craftsmen brought from South India.<sup>2</sup> Ceremonies such as the 'Eye placing' ceremony extant even today, were combined by them with the worship of the God and transformed into Hindu ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

The Sinhalese have always been keen on adopting foreign modes and customs, and it is well known<sup>4</sup> that the kings and chiefs of the Kandyan period embraced in a great measure Tamil customs and usages. A large number of them began to sign their names not in Sinhalese but in Tamil. It was their national weakness which led the Sinhalese to favour Tamil instead of their own language. It is clear why

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1. Dr. S. Paranavitāna (Buddhist Encyclopedia specimen) p. 17.
  2. Vannipola Sānnasa - JRAS (CB) Vol. XXXII, No. 84.
  3. MSV. p. 71.
  4. See Ch. I.

the people of this period began extensive worship of gods in place of the worship of Buddha.

### Education.

In the educational sphere, the Kandyan period was a veritable age of darkness. There was not a single pirivana at that time. Though it is said that during the reign of Vikramabāhu there were two pirivenas, one in Siduruvāna known as Parākramabāhu pirivana,<sup>1</sup> there is no evidence to show that these places were seats of learning. It must be kept in mind that the term pirivana was used in Buddhist literature right from the advent of Buddhism in Ceylon.

The term pirivana which is an exclusively Pāli word meant in the time of the Buddha, the compound in the front of a building (nisavatta). The terms gandhakuṭi<sup>2</sup> pirivana and vaccakuṭi pirivana denote this. With the passage of time the front compound of the vihāra became the centre of teaching for the Buddhist monks. However, when a separate building was built for such educational purpose, it can be assumed that it was also called pirivana. During the Anurādhapura, Polonnaruwa and Daṁbadeṇiya periods there

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1. Rājaratnākaraya, p. 136

2. Dhammapadaṭṭhakattā - Thaṇhā Vagga.

were a large number of pirivanas.

Similarly the Sandeśa poems describe not only the pirivanas of the Kōṭṭe period namely Padmavati,<sup>1</sup> Vijayabā<sup>2</sup> etc. but also their teaching methods and curriculum. In the Kandyan period the Vihāras of Pōyamalu and Asgiri<sup>3</sup> were educational centres, but were not called<sup>4</sup> pirivanas. The educational institution at Niyamakanda run by Vāḷiviṭa Saranaṅkara was called an Ārāmaya. The reason for this change may be that these establishments did not cater for a large number of students. It may also be that their usefulness had to be repeatedly abandoned when foreign invasions occurred. The causes of the decay of the educational institutes established by Saranaṅkara Sāmaṇera with royal patronage at Niyamakanda and Suduhumpola<sup>5</sup> after Saranaṅkara's death will be enumerated elsewhere.

Thus with the decay of the pirivana system of learning, an education system centred round the temple grew up. The bhikkhus of the time on their own initiative engaged themselves in teaching the village children and young monks. This system of learning is still continued in the villages. The alphabet, Magul Lakuna, Gaṇadevi Hēlla, Vadan

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1. See Hamsa Sandeśa
  2. See Girā Sandeśa.
  3. Kadadora Grant, See Appendix I.
  4. SSC. pp. 10, 28.
  5. See Ch. I.

Kavi Pota, Buddhagajjya and Sakaskaḍa were taught in temples followed by Śataka books. Afterwards the Dhamma, medicine or astrology were taught.

As there were no slates, paper, pen or pencils students were taught to write on a bed of sand. Whilst the letters were read aloud they were traced on the sand.<sup>1</sup> After the student had acquired mastery over writing by such means, writing on ola leaf with a pointed thorn (Ul kaṭuva)<sup>2</sup> was permitted. This was a task which had to be performed by every student. After acquiring mastery in the form of writing, writing on ola leaves previously prepared by boiling and ironing was allowed. The traditional pen known as 'Panhiṇḍa' (style) was being used at this stage. Students who had mastery over the last stage in the art of writing on ola leaf were very few, and the writings of some of them occasionally earned the appreciation of the king.<sup>3</sup> Some students were so adept at writing that they even decorated with various designs the ola leaf books produced by them.<sup>4</sup> Depending upon the quality and importance of the manuscript the king granted gifts to them. Some were even granted tenurial lands.<sup>5</sup> To make the writing on ola leaves legible

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1. Vadan Kavi Pota.
  2. CPLMss. Vol.I (W.A. de Silva)
  3. HRC, p.175.
  4. CPLMss. Vol.I.
  5. Nāḍun Vihāra Tuḍapata (Kiriālla).



it had to be blackened by a mixture in which resin oil was a component. This blackening was called the 'ceremony of eyes' (Netra Pinkama).<sup>1</sup> Before the blackening was undertaken money was raised from the villagers to defray the cost of the manuscript. After the blackening the merit obtained by producing the manuscript was transferred to all beings. The adepts in the art of writing were not confined to the bhikkhus for there is evidence to show that people from many castes had reached a high degree of proficiency in the art of writing. From these facts it is clear that this was a troubled war-torn period without a properly developed educational system; it was one of misfortune and trouble.

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1. Maitri Bhāvanā (colophon) Ms. 1136 CPLMs. (W.A.de Silva).

CHAPTER VICults.

Although on the arrival of the Arahant Mahinda the people of Ceylon embraced Buddhism, their ancient beliefs in Gods and Demons did not disappear.<sup>1</sup> The Tamil Indian invasions which occurred from time to time also brought with them the beliefs in Gods and Demons so that by the beginning of the Polonnaruva period these three cults had become popular. Though the Indian invasions and the marriage of Tamil queens to Sinhalese kings during the Polonnaruva period gave Hindu gods an esteemed position in the beliefs of the people, it was only in the Kōṭṭe period that the Buddhist monks came to worship and esteem these gods. Among the gods that were held in high esteem during this period were Upulvan, Vibhīṣaṇa, Saman and Kataragama. The Sāḷalihinī Sandeśaya of Śrī Rāhula records that there was a Śiva Devāle in Jayavardhanapura. Further there is evidence for believing that gods like Pattini and Nātha also had devotees at the<sup>2</sup> time.

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1. Dr. Paranavitāna - Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon. JRAS (CB) VR. XXX No. 92.
  2. See Kōkila Sandeśaya and Kāvyaśekharaaya.

Gods.

When truth disappears from the hearts of people their intellectual qualities get dulled and spiritual degeneration follows. Such people begin to deify natural phenomena. Though the Buddha did not enjoin the worship<sup>1</sup> of the gods he instructed that they should be given merit and Buddhism teaches that to consider forests, rocks, trees, and shrines as enchanted by gods and not worthy of worship is wrong; and that those who worship the Triple Gem should do so convinced of the Four noble truths. The monks and the laity of the dark age which was the Kandyan period, began worshipping gods.

Not only the sun and the moon but all planets became the objects of their veneration. Buddhism does not believe in creation but the people of the period believed that the earth was created by a God.<sup>2</sup> The gods Upulvan and Vibhīṣaṇa and Saman believed by the people of the Kōṭṭe period to be the guardian deities of Lankā, were not venerated as before. In fact the gods Viṣṇu and Upulvan were thought of as one and the same at this time.<sup>3</sup> Viṣṇu belonged to the Trinity of deities. Upulvan was considered to be the

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1. Dhammapadaṭṭha Kathā - Tanhā Vagga.

2. HRC. p.115.

3. In the poem "Palavāla Dānaya" Upulvan is stated to have married Sītā and lived in Vaikuṇṭha rock (Ethnology Vol. I p. 38).

guardian of Buddhism in Ceylon. Until the Kōtte period these two deities were looked on as two different deities. This is shown by the following verse in the Tisara Sandesaya:-

When goddesses of wealth and wisdom live near him  
Not being afflicted with the sorrow of separation  
at that time  
Brahma observed celibacy so rigorously  
1  
That he was not blackened as Visnu.

It is said in the stanza that Śrī, the Goddess of Wealth and Sarasvavati, the Goddess of Wisdom, came to live with Upulvan. Thereupon Viṣṇu bereft of Śrī, turned black with the sorrow. But Brahma did not bewail the loss of Sarasvavati but practised austerities and therefore did not turn black. The statement that Viṣṇu's wife came to live with Upulvan shows that they were two different deities. Perhaps because of the strong Hindu influence evident in the Kandyan period Viṣṇu assumed the first place in the Pantheon. It may be that it was in order to reconcile Upulvan so much venerated in the past with the new belief in Viṣṇu, that the people came to consider these two deities as one.

1. Tisara Sandeśa, v. 18
2. Sataravaram Malyahan (W.Koranelis Perera's Edition).

During Buddha's time Dhṛa<sup>1</sup>tarāstra, Virūḍha, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa were considered to be the Four Guardian Gods. But in this period the Guardian Gods were thought to be Upulvan, Saman, Boksāl and Vibhīṣana.<sup>2</sup> Some people however, identified the Guardian gods as Viṣṇu,<sup>3</sup> Kataragama, Nātha and Pattini. But the Vihāra Asna shows that at least some monks knew the correct identity of these gods.

### Pattini

The Pattini goddess was the most popular among the gods held in veneration by the ordinary people in the Kandyan period. The anklet of Pattini supposed to have been brought to Ceylon during Gajabāhu's time accounts for the popularity of this goddess. It is said that in the Kōṭṭe period king Parākramabāhu VI erected a Devāle to Pattini as attested by the following verse:

A palace just as that, built by king Gajabā in the past  
Was constructed by the illustrious king Pārakum,  
And it was resplendant and decked with a golden pinnacle.  
O! friend, behold and worship Goddess Pattini and  
proceed forth.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Aṭṭanāṭiya Suttā - Dīgha Nikāya.
  2. Vadan Kavi Pota.
  3. Pirit Pota (Ed. Pragnāsama) Thera.
  4. Kokila Sandeśa, v. 112

The Pattini worship which was originally not so widespread came to be most popular during the Kandyan period. The reason for this was the Dravidian hegemony. One of the four devāles situated near the temple of the Tooth is consecrated to the Goddess Pattini. The *Asala Perehāra* has a section devoted to Pattini.<sup>1</sup> The literature of the period has many references to Goddess Pattini; all these facts go to show that the Pattini cult was most popular in this period.

As has been described in Chapter III, the invasions of South Indians and the decline of Buddhism led to South Indian Gods and Demons assuming pre-eminence.<sup>2</sup> One such was Pattini. However, there were a few others who also became exceedingly popular amongst the people. Among them, the most famous were Dādimuṇḍa, Boksāi, Piṭiyedēvi, Ayyanāyaka, Vīramuṇḍa, Mangara, and Devol.

#### Pattini Story.

Just as various forms of worship of these gods came into being literary works dealing with the birth stories of them also sprang up. Most of these works deal with the cult of Pattini. These stories are based on the two Tamil works *Sīlāppadikāram* and *Maṇimekhalā*.<sup>3</sup> According to

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1. HRC. p. 126.

2. Buddha Bana Pratyakshaya p. 45.

3. Dr. C.E.Gōdakumbure - Sinhalese Literature - Ch. XXII.

Vayantimālaya Pattini's original name was Kannikī. Her husband was Kōvalan. Kōvalan fell in love with an actress named Mādhavi who caused him to dissipate his entire wealth. Afterwards the poverty stricken Kōvalan returned to Kannikī who accepted him lovingly. The Pattini Hālla<sup>1</sup> describes the last scene of this story. There Kannikī is referred to as Pattini and Kōvalan as Pālaṅga. When Pālaṅga, ruined by Mādhavi, returned to his wife, Pattini gave him her anklet so that Pālaṅga may again set himself up in business. When Pālaṅga went to Paṇḍya to sell the anklet the king of Paṇḍya suspected that Pālaṅga has stolen the anklet of his queen and put him to death. The enraged Pattini cursed the king and caused the city of Paṇḍya to be destroyed by fire.<sup>2</sup> After this incident Pattini was deified by South Indians.

#### How Pattini Became a Buddhist

The Dravidians who came to Ceylon and the Pattini worshippers did their utmost to popularise the Pattini cult. Knowing that the Buddhists of Ceylon would not accept a non-Buddhist goddess they made Pattini a Buddhist. She has been made to figure in Buddhist shrines as is evidenced

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1. See Pattini Hālla and Pālaṅga Hālla.
  2. It is said that Buddhist temples were not destroyed by this fire.

by the poem, the Amba Pattini Upata.<sup>1</sup>

It is said that the Buddha visited the Mango grove in Pāṇḍya which had been created by God Viśvakarma,<sup>2</sup> who asked Ānanda Thera to plant a mango seed.<sup>3</sup> It is also said that the king of Pāṇḍya of the time had three eyes. This powerful king forced a hundred Indian kings, under the pain of torture, to build a tank. When God Śakra saw this he ordered Pattini to put out the third eye of the king. The Goddess Pattini accompanied by a thousand followers born inside a mango. The king wanted an archer who could shoot at this golden mango. An old man who was Śakra in disguise came and offered himself as an archer. The mango was shot at and it fell to the ground. The juice fell on the third eye of the Pāṇḍya king and blinded it.<sup>4</sup>

This mango was put into a receptacle and thrown into the river Kāveri and out of this Pattini was born. The attempt at reconciling Pattini to the Buddhist faith is clearly evident here. That is the reason why it is said that when the city of Pāṇḍya went up in flames the Buddhist temples were saved. Other poets attempted to present Pattini as a Buddhist by stating that she had given a thousand

1. Ethnology Vol.II p. 268.
2. This is not referred to in Buddhist literature.
3. This is an attempt at relating the story to the Twin Miracle performed under the mango tree named Gandamba.
4. No other god has been referred to as having three eyes but Śiva.



robes as offering to Buddha Kassapa and was born as a deity<sup>1</sup> residing on the Añḍungiri mountain.

### Sat Pattini

The Pattini Goddess of India was transformed in Ceylon into seven Goddesses and worshipped.

The verse -

jaleni daleni maleni suraṁba varak upannā  
galeni kulani saḷuveni ekvarak upannā  
eveni meveni hatvani vara aṁben upannā  
meveni tedāti patini melakdiva teda pennā<sup>2</sup>

Each time the goddess was born from water, fire  
and flower,  
And from rock, peak and shawl, once from each,  
In like manner she was born from the mango for  
the seventh time,  
Such majestic Pattini diffuses her might in Ceylon.

indicates the seven manifestations of goddess Pattini. The fact that Pattini was transformed into seven goddesses and so worshipped is testimony to the veneration in which she was held. In certain parts of the country Pattini's anklet is held in greater esteem than Pattini herself. This was because the anklet was supposed to afford powerful protection

1. Ms. Pattini Pāṭīma or 6615 (533).
2. Satara Varam Mal Yahan (Ed. Koranelis Perera ).

against diseases. The Chief devāle of this goddess was situated at Vaṭṭāpalli near Mulativu.<sup>1</sup> It is believed by some people that Teda Pattini has the power to chase away demons. In every Kandyan village, a Devāle was erected in her name and she was held in greater veneration than even the Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

### Dāḍimūṇḍa

One of the most powerful gods of whom evidence is found during the Kandyan period was Dāḍimūṇḍa, who it is said in the Pirittuva,<sup>3</sup> got the demons who came from Cholas to build a city at Uggal (Alutnuvara).<sup>4</sup> According to the short poem Dāḍimūṇḍavarama, Dāḍimūṇḍa resided in Ceylon with the permission of the gods Viṣṇu, Kataragama and Saman. He was shipwrecked on the way and drifted to Devundara. From Devundara he went to the Uggal Nuvara. Dāḍimūṇḍa, on the orders of God Kataragama became one of Kataragama's ministers. He is also known as Devatā Baṇḍāra. According to the Ambākke Alaṅkāraṇa, he is the guardian of Ambākke Devāle where he is known as the God Gambāra. The

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1. Ethnology Vol.I p. 124.
  2. Ethnology Vol. p. 124.
  3. Barnett (A,G,S,F,B,S,)p.15.
  4. Ethnology Vol. III, p.5.

annual perehāra at Ambākke is held in his honour.<sup>1</sup>

Certain sources state that Dādimuṇḍa came to Ceylon after obtaining permission from God Upulvan and resided at Alutnuvara. In Parker's 'Ancient Ceylon'<sup>2</sup> it is stated that Dādimuṇḍa was first known as Alutnuvara God of Mahiyaṅgana. He is known as the god of Alutnuvara because he resides at Uggalnuvara (Alutnuvara), Alutnuvara in Mahiyaṅgana and Atulnuvara in the Four Kōrales. In Alutnuvara in Māvanālla he is known as a minister of Viṣṇu and this is referred to as Vāhala Devatā. In Kālaṇiya he is known as Kīrti Bhaṇḍāra, in Gaṇēṭāṇṇa as Gaḷē Bhaṇḍāra, and in Ratnapura as Mēnik Bhaṇḍāra.<sup>3</sup> At one time he was considered so powerful that he was given a pre-eminent position in the Kandy Asala Perahāra.<sup>4</sup> However, with the passage of time he came to be known as an avatār of Viṣṇu and thus he was superseded by Viṣṇu in the Asala Perahāra. His popularity.

His popularity is due to many reasons. He is said to have safeguarded his Devāle at Alutnuvara from the

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1. It is also said that this Devāle was erected to commemorate Henakaṇḍa Bisō Bhaṇḍāra, the wife of Vikramabāhu VI who is said to be strangled by Kataragama who made her his wife. JRAS (C.B) Vol. XXXII No. 64.
  2. Ancient Ceylon p. 140.
  3. Barnett (AGSPES) p. 15.
  4. HRC. p. 126.

depredations of the Portuguese. He is said to have got the demons to destroy a huge rock which impeded the way to his shrine.<sup>1</sup> It was believed that he could effect cures. Certain poets attempted to popularise this cult by stating that he won for Duṭugāmūṇu his battles and that he was engaged in chasing away Devil demons. Furthermore, they have stated that he was instrumental in chasing the Portuguese from Kandy and Ambūkke.<sup>2</sup> Some poets went further and tried to relate his origin to Buddhist stories.

According to the following verses found in the poem Dāḍimūṇḍa Upata<sup>3</sup> his father was the Yakka General Pūrṇaka -

dīra balāti lova parasiṇḍu yaku haṭa

kāra būṇḍapu ebisō laṇḍa saraṇeṭa

vāra gaṇan kal pasuvī giyaṇiṭa

nāra e pūrṇaka yaku haṭa dā koṭa

suran isuru deviyan rāsuvī siṭa

varan ūtīva lakḍiva pandahasata

naran rakina lesa matu pandahasata

eran dati kusa piḷisiṇḍa emaviṭa<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ms. Devatā Bandāra Kavi (Colombo Museum) 3037.
  2. Barnett (AGSES) p.15.
  3. Ethnology Vol. I p. 40.
  4. Purāṇa Siṃhala Sivupada, p. 24 (Ed. Paṇṇananda.).

To that demon who was powerful and famous  
 That princess was given in marriage;  
 When many a day passed away,  
 She was conceived to demon Pūrṇaka  
 Leading gods assembled there,  
 And gave permission for five thousand years  
 To protect human beings in Ceylon,  
 So he was born in the womb of Erandati.

Thus his mother was the Nāga princess Erandati. In this way he becomes the grandson of the Nāga king Varuṇa and Vimalā of the Vidura Jātaka. Dādimuṇḍa, having been born as Sudumal Kumārāyā is said to have gone to the abode of the gods and having obtained permission from the gods Viṣṇu, Kataragama and Saman took up residence in Ceylon. He obtained a cane from Kuvēra the uncle of Pūrṇaka Yakka. Having connected Dādimuṇḍa with the Vidura Jātaka the poet went still further and stated that in the battle with Māra, whilst other gods ran away, he stood on guard by Buddha's side and thus came to be known as Dādimuṇḍa.

#### Service to Buddha.

The worshippers of the time tried to show that these gods were of service to Buddha by guarding him during the battle with Māra. This was first attempted by the author

of Mayūra Sandeśaya in his praise of the God Upulvan.

His fame glitters in the four walls-like directions;  
 On the day of Enlightenment he showed his skill in  
 archery.  
 To such god Upulvan, the king of gods at Dev Nuvara  
 Please hand over this letter that brings all luxuries. <sup>1</sup>

This verse relates, that in the battle with Māra the God Upulvan guarded Buddha. The author of Dāḍimūṇḍa Upata in relating the prowess of Dāḍimūṇḍa takes the same course. It may be for this reason that those who worshipped Dāḍimūṇḍa or Devatūbaṇḍāra believed that he was not only Viṣṇu's avatār but also Upulvan's. For his courageous acts God Dāḍimūṇḍa is also known as Devatā Baṇḍāra, Vīra Vikum Baṇḍāra etc. <sup>2</sup> Known also as Saṇḍunkumāraya he is supposed to have come to Ceylon to guard the Buddha Śāsana. <sup>3</sup> This is also an attempt at connecting Dāḍimūṇḍa with the Upulvan story. It was earlier stated that he is known by various names in different parts of Ceylon. According to Kaludevata Kōlmura, <sup>4</sup> he is also the Kaludevata.

The Guardians of the Bō-tree.

The only difference mentioned there, is that

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1. Mayūra Sandeśaya (Kaviśvara) v.4.
  2. Ancient Ceylon p. 140.
  3. Dāḍimūṇḍa Upata (Colombo Museum) Ms. 2988.
  4. Ms. Kaludevata Kōlmura (Colombo Museum).

Kaludevatā on the orders of Pattini and Ayyanāyaka came to the Mādda Maṇḍalaya to protect the Bō-tree and then landed on the island at Batticaloa, with those two deities.

Dādimuṇḍa is generally accepted to be in charge of Katara-gama and to reside at Uggalnuvara and Alutnuvara. The same thing is said about Kaludevatā.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Kalukambili shows that it is therefore, this same deity that is referred to as Kalukambili in the Vanni. It can thus be inferred that Dādimuṇḍa was known in Batticaloa and in the region from Kāraḍuva to Kalā-Oya as Kalukambili and Vīra Vikramaratna Baṇḍāra. The reference here differs from others only in so far as that he is said to have come from Malabar in India to Ceylon in order to protect the Bō-tree at Anurādhapura. He had a retinue of eight hundred and eighty attendants (Kaḍavaras).<sup>2</sup>

#### Deity and Demon.

The deities of this period were, in certain regions, respected even as demons. It can be conjectured that certain deities of the Kandyan period were identified as Yakkhas (demons) because in Pāli that word is a synonym for deity.<sup>3</sup> There is no difference between certain gods and

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1. Ethnology Vol.I.p.93. But his birth is rather different.

2. Barnett (AGSFS) p. 15.

3. The Pāli term yakkha has been used to denote not only a demon but also a deity. See "attha kamosi me yakkha" in Vimānavatthu in which the deity Mattakundali was addressed as a yakkha (Vimānavatthu, p.82, ed. H. Dharmapala). Even for the Buddha this term has been used in Majjhimanikāya. See "yakkhassa uttama-puggalassa" in the Upāli Sutta, p. 35, ed. K. Nanavimala.

demons of this period. But contemporary people used to regard all as beneficial demons, as gods. At the same time the deity who was respected by a certain section of the population may have been feared by some other section; for the same deity was regarded as a god in a certain region and as a demon in another. Gods who migrated from India did not require the permission of local deities like Upulvan. Permission was necessary only in the case of demons. Therefore many who came after obtaining permission, were really demons, even though they were treated here as deities.

#### Boksāl.

Boksāl, who is referred to in the Vadankavipota,<sup>1</sup> as well as Sataravarana malyahan as one of the four guardian deities, is a famous god in Ceylon. He seems to have gained power during the Kandyan period. It was earlier said that Boksāl belonged to a quadrant of protector deities different from both Dhṛtarāṣṭra etc. and also Viṣṇu, Vibhīṣana etc. He received his name from the fact that he was born in a city called Boksāl.<sup>2</sup> His father is king Mahasen stated in the small poem Boksālupata,<sup>3</sup> but in certain places he is said to be Thera Mahāsena. The reason for this is that "Mahasen-

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1. Stanza runs as 'Sidda Rihirāli saman boksāl vibhīṣana sivuvaram rajapati'.
  2. Ethnology Vol. I. p. 124.
  3. Ms. Boksāl upata (Colombo Museum) 3781



-niriñduṭa" is misconstrued as "Mahasen teriñduṭa" in the lines -

risit velā kusa piḷisiñḍa gattē<sup>1</sup>  
mahasen niriñduṭa jāṭaka nittē

Having wilfully been conceived

He was born as son to king Mahasen.

When he was eight years of age, he fell down from the Vaṭadāge at Anurādhapura, broke his ribs and was reborn a demon. This is explained in the verse:-

upanē boksāl pura nuvarēyā  
keḷine anurāpura nuvarēyā  
vāṭunē vaṭadāgey/ gemādēyā<sup>2</sup>  
biñḍunē obagē vama dāḷēyā

Born in the city of Boksāl,

Sporting in Anuradhapura,

He fell on the floor of Vaṭadāge

and broke his left side ribs.

Boksāl who died thus and was born as a devil began to bring forth diseases on women as he had been in love with a woman.

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1. Ethnology Vol. I. p. 124.

2. Ethnology Vol. I. p. 215.

Other Names.

The presence of a god by the name of Kalukumāra who makes a woman insane, is quite a well known fact. It can be concluded that this Kalukumāra is none other than the incarnation of Boksāl himself. The origin of the god Kalukmāra<sup>u</sup> too is quite similar to this. He had been in love with a certain princess but died later and began to take possession of her frequently. As a result of this the princess also died. When king Mahāsena was cremating her dead body, Boksāl appeared there and after bringing life into her again made her his consort.<sup>1</sup> She was known as queen Sonār. While bearing the name of Vata<sup>1</sup>kumāra since he fell from the Vata<sup>1</sup>dāgeya he is also held in great awe as a Kaḍavara Yakā in the districts of Puttalam, Chilaw and the Vanni.<sup>2</sup>

Rājāvaliya Opinion

In Senkaḍagala he was also known by an additional name Senkaḍagala Kalukumāra. But according to an anecdote in the Rājāvaliya the origin of Kalukumāra is different from the origin of Boksāl. It is mentioned in the Rājāvaliya that the eldest son of king Vimaladharmasūrya was killed by king

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1. Barnett (AGSFS) p. 12.
  2. Ethnology. Vol. I. p. 214.

Senarat and thrown into the Mahavāli gaṅga. He was born<sup>1</sup> as a god. According to a description in a tiny poem entitled the "Seṅkaḍagalakalukumāra kavi" that prince had been killed by king Senarat because he had killed a bulbul (bird) belonging to the king. The prince had enjoyed witnessing the fight of these birds although when he asked king Senarat for a bird it was refused. The prince then killed the king's bird. Angered by this the king had him killed in the Mahavāli gaṅga. Ever since then he had been held in high esteem as god Kalukumāra.<sup>2</sup> Referred to as "Kalu yakā" in certain places, the people in Kandy exhibited great fear of him. The main act of him and Boksāl was to drive women insane. In the descriptions of Robert Knox it is said that it was a common feature among the population to believe when a woman fell ill that it was some form of insanity caused by a devil entering her inside.<sup>3</sup> Even to this day when a woman suffers from insanity it is usually attributed to the effect of Kalukumāra.

This shows that he had been honoured in one instance as a god and as a demon in another. He was held in such awe and feared by the people that in the Kandy Āsala

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1. Upham. (Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon) p. 322.
  2. Ms. Kalukumāra kavi (Colombo Museum) 3167.
  3. HRC. p. 123.

Perehāra of the year 1698 his image was taken in that procession. This has been stated in the Laṅkā Puvata.<sup>1</sup>

### The God Piṭiye

The God Piṭiye who is greatly honoured even during these days by the people of Dumbara is believed by the people of the up country to be one born in this island. But as narrated in the "Piṭiye Suriṇḍu Puvata"<sup>2</sup> it appears that he had come from the country of Chola.

solī raṭa yayi yana  
desen niriṇḍek sapīmina  
saṇḍa rajakam karana  
chuṭa kumarek melesa ātivuna

From the country of Chola  
Hailed a certain king  
While he was reigning, thus  
The prince was born to him.<sup>3</sup>

As stated in the foregoing stanza of Piṭiye Baṇḍāra Vittiya, this was the son of Elāra who came from a country of Cholas. As the prince while driving his chariot negligently killed a calf he was murdered by his father and consequently the

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1. Barnett (AGSEBS) p. 12.
  2. Ms. Piṭiye suriṇḍu puvata - Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 25.
  3. Ms. (See Wikramaratna's Catalogue. Colombo Museum).

prince was born a demon.<sup>1</sup> This poem, Piṭṭiye Baṇḍāra Vittiya explained the manner in which the prince was deified as the Piṭṭiye god.<sup>2</sup>

The Dravidians who arrived in Ceylon constructed a shrine at Dumbura in memory of this god. The verses further explain the story of how this god defeated Nātha and how a rock which obstructed an irrigation canal was shattered by him at Gurudeṇiya, which earned him the goodwill of king Vikramasabāhu.

As this god has the power to convert men and women into demons, the king Vīra Parākrama Narendrasimha<sup>3</sup> invited the poet of Doḍanvela to compose the above poem. This god who was identified as Vīravamsa Piṭṭiyedevi, Soli Kumāradevi has been highly esteemed and respected by the people of the Kandyan kingdom.

#### Ayyanāyaka

The god Ayyanāyaka who is believed to have come to Ceylon with the Aryans during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, the king of Gampola, was supposed to be a Dravidian, according to the Vanni Upata. The sole aim of the Dravidians was to identify themselves with the Aryans and attribute a place to

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1. The origin of Panandevi is quite equal to this.
  2. It is said that the king, Vīraparākrama Narendrasimha was able to cure an eye disease by making a vow to this god.
  3. Ms. No. 2420 (Colombo Museum).

their god. This was accomplished, and mention has been made in the Kokila Sandeśaya that there was a shrine dedicated to this god at Māvatupaṭṭana during the time of the Kōṭṭe period.<sup>1</sup> He had possessed a fire anklet with which he invoked blessings upon the people. In accordance with the Ayyanāyaka Devi Kavi,<sup>2</sup> this god was born rupturing the right side of his mother by the virtue of god Upulvan.

#### His Relation with Buddhism.

The God Ayyanāyaka arrived here with the permission of Upulvan.<sup>3</sup> That poem further mentions that he was permitted to protect the world by the Buddha when the latter visited the Malla grove.

The people had believed that this god, embarking from the city of Madura, landed at Jaffna and protected the sea coast from Jaffna to Kalutara, travelling on the back of an elephant.<sup>4</sup> Ilandāri Devatā, Kambili Yakā and Kaḍavara are said to be his attendants. John Still in his "Jungle Tide" gives a detailed account of the propitiating ceremonies performed by the people in his favour.<sup>5</sup> He had

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1. Kokila Sandeśaya, v. 165

2. Ms. or 6615.

3. Ms. Ayyanāyaka Devi kavi or 6615 (62)

4. Ethnology Vol. III p. 227. He is said to have been born in a Campak flower and adopted by Pattini.

5. Ch. III.

been held in high esteem at the ceremonies performed in Kandyan period.

### Vīramuṇḍa.

The very name Vīramuṇḍa suggests that this god had his origin in India. According to the Vīramuṇḍa Upata,<sup>1</sup> he was born as a son of king Koliya. Having come to Ceylon in a stone vessel he went to Vīdiyagama and defeated the demons there, for which cause he gained popularity. But the Vīramuṇḍa Yāgaya<sup>2</sup> gives a different version. Accordingly when the queen of the Cholian city conceived a child and the soothsayers informed the Cholian king that the prince would be a source of danger to the country. The king, stricken with panic banished the pregnant queen who went to the Malala country and gave birth to a son.

### The Malala origin

According to the account given above Vīramuṇḍa came from the Malala country with the Malala people. The Vīramuṇḍa yāgaya further states that he arrived in Jaffna and defeated the Tamils. This has been done in such a shrewd manner as to popularise this god among the Sinhalese. There arises a certain amount of doubt when reading such stories. Some gods were deified in India itself, while others who are

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1. Ms. Vīramuṇḍa Upata (Colombo Museum). 3742.

2. Ethnology vol. II. p. 217.

said to have died in wars that ensued when they landed in Ceylon were subsequently deified. Vīramuṇḍa might have come to Ceylon as a human being. But on his way he might have been killed in the wars that ensued in Jaffna. His companions who survived had undoubtedly begun to worship him as a god.

The fact that Vīramuṇḍa was a chief of the<sup>1</sup> demons reveals that certain people had honoured him as a demon. In the decadent age of Kandy, the people considered that Vīramuṇḍa granted Kalukumāra the permission to kill<sup>2</sup> young women so that he was showered with gifts. Thus considering the esteem in which this god, who had been banished by his father, was held in Ceylon, one can see the self confidence of the Sinhalese Buddhists.

#### The God Gaṇa.

The god Gaṇa whose popularity was restricted only to literature came into prominence during the Kōṭṭe period. This god who was an offspring of god Śiva and goddess Umā and a brother of god Skandha came to be known as Gaṇeśa. The people of the Kandyan period believed that this god could confer knowledge, hence he came to be held in high esteem, although there was no special shrine dedicated

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1. Ms. Vīramuṇḍa Kavi 3740 (Colombo Museum).  
 2. Ethnology Vol. II. p. 217.  
 3.



to him. His ability to confer wisdom is borne out by the part of the verse "May god Gaṇeśa Confer Wisdom"

(Gaṇadeviyō nuvaṇa denda.)<sup>1</sup> The people who had believed that he was endowed with remarkable wisdom adorned his head with that of an elephant. One tusk of the head is severed.<sup>2</sup> The loss is accounted for in his flight for a mango fruit. When little children were initiated into pronouncing the first letters it was a custom during the Kandyan era to pay homage to the god Gaṇeśa.

The adoration of god Gaṇa was looked down upon with contempt by Irasmus Marlis Burgher, the Dutch delegate in the Kandyan Court. His contempt was aroused because the people made the head of an elephant of wood or stone and paid homage to it to gain wisdom.<sup>3</sup> The Gaṇadevi Hālle bears testimony to the fact that the Buddhists, like the Tamils of the present day, believe and have faith in this god. The Portuguese were more concerned with the purging of such crude beliefs from the minds of the people rather than destroying Buddhism wholesale, adds Irasmus.

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1. Gaṇadevi Hālle.

2. Ibid.

3. Earliest Dutch visits - JRAS Vol. XXX. No. 80.

## CHAPTER VII

### Cults.

In the sixth Chapter a description was given of the powerful deities that had become popular in Ceylon. Apart from these, there were at the time minor deities popular in particular localities. In other words, of nearly three-hundred and thirty three millions of deities worshipped by people of this country only a few have been mentioned by name.<sup>1</sup> Of the few deities named, not many are known all over the island, some others were deities of particular localities, while others were considered as devils and deities simultaneously.

#### The God Maṅgara.

A local deity who occupies an honoured place is Maṅgara.<sup>2</sup> During the Kandyan period people in Batticaloa, Tamankaḍuva, Hurulupattuva and Anurādhapura made offerings to the God Maṅgara.<sup>3</sup> Although the name suggests that he was a Tamil, the legend among the Sinhalese was that he was a native of Māyā-rāṭa. This native of Māyārāṭa went to

1. Buddha Bana Pratyakṣaya, p. 26 and Gaḍalādeniya Sannasa.
2. Hugh Nevill, Esq., identifies him as "Maṅgra", Ethnology, Vol. II p. 200.
3. Ibid.

Bintänna via Kataragama and was engaged in capturing wild elephants and wild buffaloes.<sup>1</sup> For that he obtained the assistance of cow-herds in the area.

Some regard him as an evil spirit, while others credit him with power to subdue evil spirits, and hence his veneration as a deity.<sup>2</sup>

The inhabitants of the Dumbara Valley in particular regard him as a deity and make offerings. Some describe him as the son-in-law or a nephew of Viṣṇu, in order to popularise him.<sup>3</sup> As it is believed that Viṣṇu offers protection from contagious diseases during times of distress the peasants perform the ceremony of boiling milk as an act of propitiation to this God.

#### The God Devol.

God Devol's birthplace is said to be Vaḍiga Raṭa or Malabar. As he was sailing to Ceylon with the Tamils his ship foundered, but owing to the protection of Four Guardian Gods he was able to land safely in Ceylon. Yet Goddess Ginipattini offered him resistance,<sup>4</sup> by trying to expel him by throwing fire on him. The god Devol, who landed at Sinigama, made the Chieftain of the area fall sick. Then

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1. See the description of God Panam.
  2. Barnett. (AGSFBS) P. 59.
  3. Maṅgra Dev Puvata or 6615 9375.
  4. Maṅgra Deviyange Kavi 3265, Colombo Museum.

appearing in a dream, he ordered him to build a devāla or temple in order to recover his health. This the Chieftain obeyed and the God Devol settled in the devāla.<sup>1</sup>

This same God is known by the names of Alutbandāra, Kehelgomudevi, Vāhaldevi and Galēbandāra. Some of these names are given to Dādimuṇḍa as stated earlier.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion we can come to is, that such names were given by the worshippers to Devol in order to popularise him.

The God Devol, while at Sīnigama became hostile to the inhabitants and God Skandha at Kataragāma therefore despatched him to the Malala region. He is dressed in the costume of a Kandyan udākki<sup>3</sup> dancer. Though in the verses of Devol Devi Kavi it is said that he had come from Malabar, it is reasonable to suppose that he came hither from Delba in the delta region of the River Indus. Devol devi, a collectivity of seven deities, is said to have existed even prior to the visit of Iban Batuta to Ceylon.<sup>4</sup> But as his retinue contains even the Dutch servants he cannot be an arrival prior to Iban Batuta.

The father of the seven Devol Gods was King Rāmasiṃha. The king was enraged when he found his seven sons

1. Devol Devi Kavi (Ko Kau:) 3041.
2. See Dādimuṇḍa in Chapter VI.
3. Kettle drum.
4. Ethnology Vol. I p.6.

engaged in the slaughter of animals and had them banished from the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The seven sons, along with the Tamils named Doluvara and Kannaḍi, landed in Ceylon on a Wednesday. The seven Devol Gods who landed at Sīnigama went and had an audience with God Kataragama. With his permission they settled down at Bēruvala and Pānadura.<sup>2</sup> From the time they made the Sīnigama Chieftain to recover, the people got used to asking their help for recovery from even minor illnesses. At Navagamuva, Rīriyakā is called Devol Yakā. As stated earlier he is identified in a dual rôle of deity and evil spirit. Some are of opinion that he gets this name from the fact that he came from Debala in the delta region of the River Indus.<sup>4</sup>

#### The God Panam

The God Panam, described as born to the Giri Clan in South India, exerted considerable influence during the Kandyan period. This God who came to Ceylon with the permission of God Kataragama became friendly with the Hat Raja of Minneriya and resided in the islets of Minneriya Tank.<sup>5</sup> He received the permission of God Kaludākada to make human

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1. Maha Devol Vīdiya or 6615 (399).
  2. Barnett (AGSFBS.) p. 20.
  3. Rīriyak Kavi (Colombo Museum) 3583.
  4. Devol Devi is a reputed mariner.
  5. Panam Devi Kavi, or 6615 (284).

beings fall ill. He was capable of evading Pillu Yakās or devils and during epidemics villagers used to boil milk and offer betel to propitiate this God.

God Panam, who was widely accepted even before<sup>1</sup> Senkadagala became the Capital, was honoured by a procession. Like the God Kalu Kumāra, God Panam too is hostile to female folk.

This God who tore off the breast-band of women in Dumbara Eliya, also killed sixty monks in the jungle near Kataragama as stated in the following verse.-

dumbara eliyaṭa vādalā siṭitiṭ  
 pembara aṅṅanan tana paṭa kaḍati  
 pinbara saṅga sūṭa namakut marati<sup>2</sup>  
 rambara dasa avatāren vaḍitiṭ.

Having come to Dumbara Eliya he lives there,  
 and tears breast-bands of lovely women;  
 He killed sixty virtuous monks,  
 and appears in ten golden incarnations.

For this reason women in the Dumbara Eliya did not wear breast-bands for a long time. As he was hostile to

1. Ethnology Vol.III p.52. According to Hugh Nevill God Panam was worshipped by the Royalty of Giri Dynasty of Kandy. The word comes from Persian meaning "Protecting".
2. Panam Devi Kavi.

monks who<sup>1</sup> chanted "pirit", they are reluctant to chant pirit in Minnēriya and Tamankaḍuva area up to date. God Panam is still worshipped in the Trincomalee region.

### The Goddess Ambarāpoti

Ambarāpoti is a goddess. She was in an earlier birth a queen to the King of Visālpura but owing to a treasonable act of a minister was drowned in the Kalu Gaṅga, with a stone tied to her neck.<sup>2</sup> We must not come to the hasty conclusion that these worshippers could not understand that Visalpura was in India and Kalu Gaṅga in Ceylon. Kalu Gaṅga may have been a river in India with deep blue or black water. The Queen who died in Kalugaṅga was reborn a goddess and landed in Ceylon at Batticaloa. Hence through the land of Vēddas, she came to the hill country and gave her patronage to the people. Though there is a devāla at Pālavakanda, the main devāla is at Vidānagama.<sup>3</sup>

As the people believed that she could prevent epidemics and drive away five hundred and fifty evil spirits, she was accorded several respectful offerings. Doḍanvala Devāla was built in her name. It was here that King Rājasimha

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1. Because he killed monks and attacked the elephant Kaṇḍula he may be same as Soli Kumāra Devi.
  2. Ambarāpoti Upata, or 6615 (373).
  3. Ethnology Vol.I.p.225.

II, made a vow before he went to war against the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup>  
 As she was reputed to give protection to women from the evil-  
 deeds of Kalu Kumāraya, women folk also respected her  
 immensely. The following verse indicates that she came to  
 Ceylon with the permission of the Goddess Pattini.

patini deviṇḍugen varam lābenavā  
 gini salāmbaṭa karuṇāva karanavā  
 lō salāmbē haṇḍa didī vaḍinavā  
 divās tedāti āmbarāpoti enavā.<sup>2</sup>

She got the permission of Pattini  
 Through the kindness of a fire anklet.  
 Making the sound of a metal anklet  
 Āmbarāpoti with celestial glory arrives.

### The God of Hantāne.

The mount of Hantāne at Kandy gets its name as  
 it was the residence of God Hantāne.<sup>3</sup> The origin of the  
 God of Hantāne is as follows:

Rāma was enraged, when one day Sītā drew the  
 picture of Rāvaṇa on a plantain leaf and he abandoned her in

- 
1. Gannoruva Battle. See Ch. I.
  2. Āmbarāpoti Upata, or 6615 (373).
  3. Barnett says this God was born as Irugal Baṇḍāra as he had offered alms to a thousand monks. He resided at Hantāne so that he became known as Kande Baṇḍāra.



the forest. There she gave birth to a child called "Saṇḍaliṇḍu". She lost the child when staying with a hermit. To assuage Sītā's grief for her child the hermit created another child by his divine powers. This child was named "Malaraja". Later Sītā found her other child.

As Sītā did not believe it to be her own child the hermit created another one named Kitsiri. All three children grew up together and Sītā ordered them not to go to the pond of Rāma.<sup>1</sup>

Sītā got "Saṇḍaliṇḍu" while under the protection of the hermit. When the three children went to Rāma's pond disregarding their mother's order, Rāma recognized "Saṇḍaliṇḍu" as his child and he came and was reconciled to Sītā once again. Of these children Malaraja with the connivance of God Śakra came to eradicate an epidemic in the time of Paṇḍuvasdev, in the guise of a hunter of a wild-boar.<sup>2</sup> The epidemic was the result of a curse cast by Kuvēṇi on Vijaya. Later, Malaraja was considered a god and a devāla was built at Hantāne mountain to his name.

As he had landed at Santana Peninsula, he was named God Hantāne. The mountain where he lived became known

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1. Santānā Patuna.

2. See Kohombā Kankāriya in Chapter VIII.

as Hantāne Kanda.<sup>1</sup>

The God Bōgambara.

God Bōgambara, born to Queen Pāliyā, wife to the King of Kōliyapura, is also known as Nāmal Kumāra. He was named Nāmal Kumāra because on the day of conception the Queen had dreamt that she was swallowing a Nā (iron-wood) flower. Nāmal Kumāra became a devil at a park in Chola. He came to Ceylon and obtained the permission of the Gods Kataragama, Pattini, Devatābaṇḍura to live here.<sup>2</sup>

Since his arrival in Kandy he stayed at Bōgambara. Hence the name God Bōgambara is used for him. The following verse is good evidence:-

mādda edesa raṭa bōgambara siṭa devi mekerata vadi  
karē tibuna ran saluva elā siṭa sūṇekin mekerata  
melāṅkāve deviyange varam lāba hāma tāna kelī pūda  
apē dukata dān pihiṭa lābenavada bōgambara deviyan  
medinē.

He landed here from Bōgambara, the central  
province of that country,  
Immediately he came hither with the shawl that  
was on his neck spread over.  
He received oblation with the permission of  
gods in Ceylon  
O god Bogambara, may you help us to remove our  
present sufferings.

- 
1. This is the highest mountain near Kandy.
  2. Ms. Nāmal Kumāra Upata (Colombo Museum) 2242.

According to this verse, Nāmal Kumāra came from a region known as Bōgambara hence he and the area where he lived got that name. He landed at Batticaloa, and came to Kandy via Sorabora Tank and Bintāne. The Nāmal Oya<sup>1</sup> in the Gal Oya valley is known after this god.

### The Twelve Gods.

Of the deities said to bless the people according to Vadankavipota,<sup>2</sup> twelve gods occupy an important place. Those gods mentioned in Ūalumura pidum Kavi are Māṇik Devi, Māvatte Devi, Kosgama Devi, Parakāsa Devi, Maralu Devi, Kumāra Devi, Miriyabūdde Devi, Vanni Baṇḍāra Devi, Kalubaṇḍāra Devi, Bōvala Devi, Mīgahapiṭṭiye Devi and Kivulegedara Alut Devi.<sup>3</sup> The majority of these are native gods. Apart from these twelve gods there was another galaxy of twelve goddesses. The fact that they were born in India is shown in the following story.

A queen named Hamsavati gave birth to a son named Daḷa Kumāra. Her daughter was Giridēvi. As the fortune tellers predicted that Prince Daḷa would marry his sister, the girl was hidden in a cave by the parents. As she was hidden in a cave she was named Giri Devi. When Daḷa

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1. Ms. Nāmal Kumaruge Katāva (Colombo Museum) 2240.

2. Ms. Nāmal Kumaruge Katāva (Colombo Museum) 2241.

3. "sidda pattini dolaha deviyo thadrakālī deviganapati".

Kumāra came to hear of her beauty, he feigned illness in order to marry her. As the parents found no remedy they had to give her in marriage to her brother. The Princess, Giri Dēvi, could not bear her incestuous marriage and committed suicide by hanging herself from a <sup>1</sup> tree. After this event she had twelve avatāras or apparitions (possessed her.) These twelve <sup>u an</sup>superham forms are called the "twelve Giriliyo". They are Maḍanagiri, Hapumalgiri, Bālagiri, Molangiri, Bhūtagiri, Nīlagiri, Ratnagiri, Haṇḍungiri, Paṭṭigiri, Toṭagiri, Aṇḍungiri, and Valliyakgiri.<sup>2</sup> According to Hugh Nevill, this form of worship had come from Western Asia, and the feminine form is called "Gārā" while the masculine form is called "Garā". These also had a dual worship as deities and evil spirits.<sup>3</sup>

#### The God Kaludākada.

The God Kaludākada, worshipped in the Minnēriya region is a powerful god very hostile to evil spirits. Satrajun or the Seven Kings of Minnēriya had the sacred belt of the Buddha brought to Anurādhapura via Yāpā Paṭuna and enshrined it in Jetavanārāma Dāgoba.<sup>4</sup> These seven Kings settled down at Ritigala.

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1. God Śakra secreted her body. But when Dala Kumāra found it he too became a devil after death. They were again united as man and wife (Giri devi Asna).
  2. Barnett (AGSFBS.). p. 27.
  3. Ethnology. Vol. III p. 287.
- Jetavanārāma was built by King Mahāsena. MV. Ch. 37.

To placate the spirits, while the construction of the Minnēriya tank was in progress King Mahāsena made a sacrifice of his son. But the Queen Ratran Dēvi secreted her son and gave a Kaludāva or black bear in his stead. The prayers to Avatāra Devi to recover the son from Ratran Dēvi were in vain. After his death the prince was known as Kaludāvā.

From this story it is evident that the seven kings came from India. It was King Mahāsena who constructed the Jetavanārāma. But the worshippers of the Seven Kings had made a deliberate attempt during the Kandyan period to popularise the Seven Kings at the expense of King Mahāsena. If Rataran Devi had secreted the prince how could he be born as Kaludākada? The worshippers during the Kandyan period had tried to show that he was born in a different guise even after death.<sup>1</sup> Later on Minnēriya Devi, the Seven Kings and Kaludākada merged into a single personality. This is a strong clue to show the essential nature of the stories of the Kandyan period. What the creators of these mythological figures wanted was to popularise their gods by whatever stories they cared to relate.

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1. A devāla to the seven kings was in Minnēriya.

### The God Kaḍavara.

The God Kaḍavara was a porter of the immigrants from South India. There are thousands of such porters or Kaḍavaras who have come from Malabar in South India.<sup>1</sup> Some of them are deified while others remain devils. Some of the Kaḍavaras who landed in Ceylon at Santāna with King Malaraja's permission settled down in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> There are 18 Chief Kaḍavaras with the names Lēkaḍavara, Malkaḍavara, Samayaṇ Kaḍavara, Kumara Kaḍavara, Golukaḍavara, Toṭa Kaḍavara, Daḷa Kaḍavara, Rati Kaḍavara, Giri Kaḍavara, Sapumal Kaḍavara, Aṇḍi Kaḍavara, Bihiri Kaḍavara, Devol Kaḍavara, Bhūta Kaḍavara, Abhūta Kaḍavara, Muḷ Kaḍavara, Sellam Kaḍavara and Kalugal Kaḍavara.<sup>3</sup> Of these the first Kaḍavara lives in the abode of Viṣṇu. Teda or Gini Kaḍavara was sent by King Mala to remedy the illness of King Paṇḍuvasdev.<sup>4</sup> He was supposed to have got his power from Dīpaṅkara Buddha.

Of the Kaḍavaras, the most powerful is Daḷa Kaḍavara. The story of his birth runs thus. "King Siṃha had a son. He was in love with his sister. A Minister who came to know this killed the prince. Thereafter the God Śakra had created him in a new life in the tusk of an elephant. Hence

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1. Ms. Kaḍavara Upata (Colombo Museum) No. 3151.
  2. Ms. Kaḍavara Bali Kavi (Colombo Museum) No. 3131.
  3. Ethnology (Vol. II) p. 296.
  4. The story of Twelve Giriliyo is a bit different.

he was named Daḷa Kaḍavara."<sup>1</sup> Demaḷa Daḍavara, Sohon Kaḍavara, Lē Kaḍavara, Daḷaraja, Daḷakumāra, Aluyam Kaḍavara are also names given to him.

Some of his worshippers say he was born with his sister in a golden casket. That story is a slight variation of the original story. He is supposed to have the name because he has a cobra round the head and two tusks in the mouth. Daḷa Kaḍavara also known as Garā Yakā and Daḷa Kumāraya, haunts the Balagala region. At Gurudeṇiya he gets possessed of humans. All Kaḍavaras talk Tamil, as they are natives of Malabar.

#### The Toṭa Kaḍavara

Toṭa Kaḍavara, the most powerful of all Kaḍavaras during the Kandyan period is given a dual rôle of a devil and deity.

While being the washerman to the King of Bimbāpura in Kasīraṭa, he ran away from the city when he had lost some of the King's royal garments. He came to Chola country and married the king's daughter, pretending to be a royal prince. They had twins. The children washed clothes while at play. The King of Bimbā understood the story and had the washerman beheaded. He was born a Yakkha or devil.

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1. Ethnology, Vol.I. p. 51.

When his wife and sons came to the bathing spot he got possessed of them and turned them into devils. The princess became his wife. As he evinced fear at bathing spots, first he was considered to be a devil, before<sup>1</sup> elevation as a deity.

The description is given in "Totakadavara Upata" with a slight variation. According to this the washerman married the daughter of King of Kasī and not of the King of Bimbāpura. Till his arrival in Ceylon at Jaffna he was a devil.

God Nātā<sup>h</sup> had driven Toṭa Kaḍavara out but he started to haunt the Dāduru Oya and Kavivālla with the permission of Vīramuṇḍa. He was refused permission to stay in Ruhuna by God Kataragama. But others are of the opinion that he was one of the Gods who landed along with<sup>2</sup> Satara Varam Gods.

#### The Ratna Kaḍavara.

The Ratna Kaḍavara was a servant of the God Kataragama, who lived in the region of Māṇik Gaṅga. He is also known by some other names like Māṇik Kaḍavara and "Bahirava". The p̣arāṇḍi Kōvila at Sītāvaka is built to his

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1. Ms. Totakadavara Upata (Colombo Museum) 3686.
  2. Ethnology Vol.I. p. 51.



honour. This Bahirava was given the eldest son as a sacrifice. Robert Knox says that during the decline of the Kandyan period the first-born son was given as a sacrifice to save the rest of the family from his evil influence. Even today the farmers in the up-country are in the habit of making offerings to Bahirava when their crops are attacked by pests. Gem miners used to make offerings to "Ratna Kadavara" in the belief that he was the guardian deity of earth.<sup>1</sup>

Though Bahirava was in existence since Anurādhapura period<sup>2</sup> he was accorded a high position only during the Kandyan period. The Bahirava Kanda in Kandy recalls his memory. Certain regions name him as God Mānikpāla. The Tamil name of Vairāvan is a name for this same Bahirava. The Sanskrit root "bhairava" denotes the God Śiva of awful guise. That is one of his eight incarnations or avatārs. It has come to the Sinhalese as "Bairava". From the honorific term of "Bairava Aṇḍi" the colloquial Sinhalese word "Bārāṇḍi" is formed. This is God Śiva.

Ratna Kaḍavara is given an important place in devil dancing in Ceylon. These Kaḍavara are servants of

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1. HRC.p.150. ~~Sinhala~~. Dr. P.B.Sannasgala in his Sāhitya Vamsaya describes how Bahirava killed Kuda Mohoṭṭāla of Uva. p. 26.
  2. Barnett (AGSFBS) p. 10.
  3. Bahirava statues at Jetavanārāma are evidence to that.

Indian immigrants who died on the way and were created Kaḍavaras. God Dādimuṇḍa<sup>1</sup> had eight hundred and eighty Kaḍavaras as servants.

### Abhūta Devi.

God Abhūtadevi who came as a Kaḍarava from Malabar became a powerful God during the Kandyan period. Of the eighteen Kaḍavaras he is known also as "Abhūta Kaḍavara". As he had a shrine at Bōgambara he became known also as Bōgambara Devi.<sup>2</sup> At that time his power was felt at Dumbara and Panāgama.

### Namanāti Devi.

God Namanāti Devi is completely different from other Gods. He is supposed to have power to effect earthquakes and also to expel evil spirits. God Namanāti<sup>3</sup> was not helpful to Buddha in the war with Māra and was more powerful than the aristocrats.<sup>4</sup> He is considered a God of Jews, Christians and Muslims. During the reign of Rājasiṃha II people believed the God of the Christians to be superior to, and more powerful than their own Gods and hence regarded the God of the Portuguese and Dutch as Namanāti Devi.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See the account of Dādimuṇḍa.
  2. Barnett (AGSFBS.) p.2. Description of God Bōgambara is slightly different from this.
  3. Ethnology Vol. III p. 195.
  4. But Barnett describes him as a pious God (AGSFBS.) p.67.
  5. HRC.p.133.

The first person who made mention of this God was a Gaṇinnāṇse. A contemporary poet who was enraged at this creation wrote the following lyrical verses to suggest that Namanāṭi Devi was a devil and the Gaṇinnāṇse an Āṇḍi priest.

pera āti utum deviyāṇḥaṭa novī sākā  
 nama nāti kiyanu tō vada tage agē yakā  
 danumāti kenek kolombāṭa langū<sup>v</sup> dinakā  
 vanasati Īta paḷamuva pala hāra melakā

dāḍimmal sādī siyapat jayagat raṇahasā  
 pāṇḍi purē ginilū pattiniyeni kara rosā  
 āṇḍi kolut ugē basāṭa nāmūnu dūdana rāsā  
 pīditakara vanasan vaḷakāṭa gūsu hena lesā

kakā abin kaṇsa sorā rā bomin  
 vikāra vāḍi āṇḍingē bas esamin  
 nokā nobī sarikara pinakāṭa nodemin  
 yakāṭa puda nokarav raṭuni tepi semin.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ms. Āṇḍi Māle (Labugama Laṅkānanda).

You pay no respect to the ancient gods,  
 Is it not you who call this demon the god 'Namanāti'?  
 When an intelligent person arrives in Colombo,  
 (He) will destroy you, so that you must leave  
 Ceylon prior to that.

You surpass the pomegranate, lotus and golden swan  
 in colour,  
 Enrage Oh, Pattini, who set fire the Pāndyan city.  
 The Āndra vagabond and the wicked people, converted  
 by his words,  
 Please crush and destroy as with a thunder that  
 fell in a pit.

Āṇḍis are addicted to opium and ganja and drinks  
 toddy in secrecy,  
 You follow the words of such Āṇḍis, full of nonsense.  
 You do neither eat nor drink nor give something  
 for charity,  
 Oh, citizen, do not make offering to the demon.

From these sources the conclusion can be drawn  
 that Namanāti Devi was a devil and the originator of the myth  
 was an Āṇḍi priest who came from India.

When King Rājasimha II heard about the Namanāti  
 Devi he brought the author Gaṇinnāṇse and his pupils to Kandy  
 and had them executed.<sup>1</sup> But the belief in him could not be  
 eradicated.

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1. See Chapter IV.

### The Five Gods.

There were five gods who obtained the permission of the Sudam Devsaba (the celestial assembly called Sudharma) and landed at Kalutara in Ceylon. The five gods were Kaludevatā, Kambili Devatā, Gurumā, Hādayā and Ratnakadavara. They were under the leadership of Dādimuṇḍa.<sup>1</sup> In the Pasdevatā Kavi it is mentioned that he landed at Batticaloa in Ceylon and settled down at Devanagala.

According to this Kaludevatā, Kambilidevatā and Devatā Baṇḍāra are three different gods. But in later days Kalu and Kambili gods were identified as one. The same god was given different names and identities in many places, if not how could there be three hundred and thirty three million deities?

Apart from the gods mentioned up to now, there were a host of native gods. Chief among them were God Seṅkaḍagala, God Aṁbanvela and God Kīrṭti Baṇḍāra.<sup>2</sup> The mother of King Vikramabāhu, the founder of Seṅkaḍagala city was the Goddess Seṅkaḍagala.<sup>3</sup> Later the powerful King Rājasimha I was considered to be a god.

Aṁbanvela Rāla,<sup>4</sup> executed after a rebellion by

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1. See the description of Boksāl.
  2. Kivulegedera Devi is another name.
  3. Ampitiya Inscription. (Seṅkaḍagala Itihāṣaya Karuṇātilaka)
  4. See Ch. I.

King Rājasimha II was deified as God Āmbanvela. It was a common thing in the Kandyan period to deify kings and nobles after their death.<sup>1</sup> Thus we have a large number of gods scattered all over the country.

### The Demons.

The people had to face foreign invasions frequently during the Kandyan period. There were almost annual famines. Owing to these the people were subjected to frequent epidemics. The ordinary man could not explain these social phenomena. They ascribed these disasters to demons and made offerings to placate them.

When an illness occurred people first went to a devil-dancer or Kapurāla rather than to a physician.<sup>2</sup> The devil-dancer called out the devils who were the cause of the illness and made offerings to them. Sometimes the story of Raktākṣi mentioned in "Attanagalu Vihāra Vamsa"<sup>3</sup> may have given support to such myths. After the offerings the devil-dancers begged of the spirits not to harass the patients. Also they asked for succour from Gods Pattini and Dāḍimunda to that end. Thus the traditional Ratana Sutta that invoked blessings on similar occasions receded to the background.

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1. Kings Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha and Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha too were deified.
  2. Robert Knox (HRC) p. 120.
  3. Ch. VI.

The offerings to the devils occupied the place of pride. Such rituals are cynically mentioned in the following verse by a poet as the forsaking of the yellow robe and taking to the barks of trees, which meant taking to demon-worship in place of Buddhism.

mana tuṭa munidunge samayama hariminna  
 yaku haṭa vaṇḍina dān samaharu kelasinna  
 soṇḍa paṭa piḷḷ sari kara noma aṇḍiminna<sup>1</sup>  
 riṭi paṭa aṇḍina vanaturu vādi dana vāṇna.

Some abandon the pleasant religion of Buddha  
 And worship the demon. How are they?  
 Those are like the Vāddas who give up silk cloth  
 and wear bark-robcs in its place.

The rise of the worship of devils affected Buddhism as well as the cult of gods in the Kōṭṭe Period. It is evident from the following verses.

set siri dena kōvil hāra dada baṣaṭa  
 sit viyaruva yakgeṭa yanu topa leḍaṭa  
 uttama turu kap sevanē gos nosiṭa  
 tuttiri gasa sevanāṭa giya vāni gimāṭa.

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1. Ms. Aṇḍimāle.

sav lō pasiñdu deviyan adahā nosiṭa  
 pāv kaḷa yakun adahā yanu topa leḍaṭa  
 vāv baḍa sihil nuga gasa sevane nosiṭa<sup>1</sup>  
 av vaṭa giyā vāni talgas sevana kaṭa

On the advice of the idiot, you give up the devālas  
 that invoke blessings,  
 Why do you go to the place of demons, being mad?

You resemble those who don't take shelter under the  
 wish-conferring tree  
 And go for shade to love grass, being stricken  
 with heat.

Having given up the world-famous gods,  
 You go to worship the evil demon to cast off disease,  
 That is like unto the abandoning the banyan tree on  
 the bank of a tank,  
 And staying under a palmyra tree for the heat.

The cult of devils became widespread. A  
 description of the devils who were worshipped on a wide  
 scale is given below.

#### The Demon Hūniyan.

The Hūniyan Yakā whose worship originated  
 during the Kandyan period, is deified today as Hūniyan Devi.  
 Once a devil, he is supposed to spend half the month as a

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1. Ibid.



devil and the other half as a deity. The story of his birth runs thus.

After Rāma's victory over the Asuras, the gods and Sages, celebrated the event dancing at the summit of the Mount Meru. Then the Sun God went to Mahakelānārāja the King of Cobras, who lives coiled round the Mount Meru and asked for a means to destroy the Asuras.

The Nāga king who acceded to the request, blew off poisonous smoke from his left and right nostrils. Out of the poisonous smoke coming from the left nostril was born<sup>1</sup> the Demon Hūniyan.

Those who attempted to portray him as a God<sup>2</sup> have described him as a son of God Viṣṇu. He brings many diseases into the human world. Those are mostly cured by the Goddesses Sat Pattini. God Hūniyan who landed in Ceylon with the permission of Gods Oḍḍisa and sages was also said to have obtained the permission of various Buddhas.<sup>3</sup> Today the popular belief is that he is the messenger of Gods Viṣṇu and Kataragama. On that basis he is regarded as the same god as Dēvatābaṇḍāra or Dādimuṇḍa. Today he is

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1. Ms. Hūniyan Yak Yādinna, or 6615 (62)
  2. Ms. Hūniyan Yak Kavi, (Colombo Museum) 3114.
  3. Ms. Hūniyan Yak Kavi, (Colombo Museum) 3114.

also regarded as the God Gambāra.<sup>1</sup>

The Demon Mahasohon.

The Mahasohona is regarded as an awe-inspiring yakkha among the Sinhalese. He is asked to take offerings at the behest of Sobhita Buddha. Mahasohon is supposed to be devouring a man held by the right-hand. A hundred and eight vessels full of offerings should be presented to appease him.

According to Saddaramālaṅkāraya, it was Jayasena of Riṭigala, whose head was severed by giant Goṭhayimbara in a duel, that became Mahasohan Yakkha at a later date.<sup>2</sup>

The Demon Sanni

The Sanni Yakā is supposed to be the demon that brings cholera, fever, dysentery and similar epidemics. Even today in remote villages people make offerings in time of epidemics to this Yakkha. The following story gives a clue to the fact that he is a native of India and not Ceylon.

There lived a king in India called Saṅkapāla. His Queen gave birth to twins, a girl and boy. They got married later. One day the prince killed the princess in

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1. Ethnology, Vol. II p. 225.

2. Saddarmālaṅkāraya - Goṭhayimbara Vastu.

a rage. Out of the pieces of the body was born a child. He who was called Sanniyakā started to terrorise people and kill them.<sup>1</sup>

The Sanniyakā worshipped in Ceylon is slightly different. Buddha on his visit to Ceylon, made him obey him and gave him permission to take offerings.<sup>2</sup>

### The Demon Rīri.

Rīriyakā is said to have been born at Rehena constellation on Guru hour on a Saturday. After his birth his mother died and was born a Yakkhini called Lētaḷi Yakini. He was called Rīriyakā because he lived in a pool called Rīrivila, the Pool of Blood.<sup>3</sup> He got his name from God Saman. He has a shrine to his memory at Navagamuva. During the Kandyan period he was worshipped at Pallētoṭa, and Nuvara Eliya<sup>4</sup> and was at times called Dalakadavara.

### The Oḍḍisa Yakkha.

Oḍḍissa Yakkha was the son of King Vicila and Queen Nāmal in Oḍḍi Vadiga country. He succeeded to the throne after his father. He was born in the earlier

1. Barnett (AGSEBS.) p. 94.
2. Ms. Sanniyak Kavi (Colombo Museum) 3604.
3. Ethnology Vol. II p. 287.
4. Ms. Rīriyaka Kavi (Colombo Museum) 3583.

birth out of the smoke blown from the right nostril of Mahākela Nārāja. He is called Oḍḍisa<sup>1</sup> in various manifestations. Even King Paṇḍuvasdev suffered at his hands. His garment is a leopard skin. Today he is called Oḍḍisa Yakā.

Apart from these, there are a few others such as the Pilli Yakā. During the decline of Buddhism people gave up the Buddhist practices and took to the worship of deities and demons out of fear for society and the break-<sup>2</sup>down of its spiritual basis.

Some monks who were not pious too took to the worship and exorcising of Gods and devils. Most of the books written at the time are devoted to describing these gods and demons. These beliefs were so deep-rooted that the believers in them are found not only in the Kandyan region but all over Ceylon.

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1. Barnett's description differs a little (AGSFBS)p.68.
  2. Buddha Baṇa Pratyakshaya. p. 45.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Religious Ceremonies and Rituals

The belief in various gods and demons mentioned in the previous chapter led to a variety of religious ceremonies. These ceremonies mainly consisted of the yearly processions ending with a water cutting ceremony. Its object was to propitiate the Gods and obtain their blessings for the people and for the land.

The first of such ceremonies was the Asala Perahāra in Kandy which is now one of the biggest and the most important of national ceremonies. Robert Knox's account states that this procession in its early days was performed to propitiate Alutnuvara, Kataragama and Pattini<sup>1</sup> Gods. But with the passage of time God Viṣṇu was substituted for the Alutnuvara God.<sup>2</sup> This occurred with the acceptance of the belief that God Alutnuvara or Dādimuṇḍa was an incarnation of Śrī Viṣṇu. Further, with the spread of Brahmanical ideas and with the marriage of Indian queens and Kandyan kings,<sup>3</sup> Śrī Viṣṇu superseded Devatā Baṇḍāra as a

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1. HRC. p. 125-126.

2. The present Mahadēvāla perahāra.

3. See Ch. IV.

god of the first rank. With the passage of time two other elements entered into this procession. They are the procession devoted to Nātha and that devoted to the Tooth Relic. The Tooth Relic was given a place in the procession during the reign of king Kīrti Śrī.<sup>1</sup> This was done on the instructions of Vālivīṭa Saramāṅkara. Other yearly processions were held in all parts of the island in honour of Dāḍimunda, Piṭiya and other Gods.<sup>2</sup>

#### Water Cutting.

In these festivals held in honour of the gods, the main procession was known as the Randōli procession. *The last is called the water cutting procession.* This is held in the day time and the procession proceeds to a well known river or pond where the water is 'cut' with a sword immediately after which water is collected into a bowl. This bowl of water is later deposited in a Devāle and is emptied on the day when the next water cutting ceremony is performed i.e. next year.<sup>3</sup>

The water cutting ceremony symbolises the crossing of the ocean by king Gajabā and his Nīla Mahā Yōdayā. The crossing of the ocean, a difficult task at the time, is remembered every year in this fashion.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See Ch. II.
  2. The processions of Gadālādeniya Ambākka and Aluthuvara.
  3. Ānanda Coomaraswamy -MSA p.39.
  4. Ms. Gajabā Kathava No. 1852, CPL Mss.

Valli Yakun Dance.

After the procession mentioned above the 'Balibat Garā Yakun' and 'Valiyakun' dances are held. This is intended to propitiate any of the lesser gods, devils and spirits who had not been propitiated by the main ceremonies. Therefore the officials who participated in the Parahāra and the elephants joined in the dance.<sup>1</sup>

Kārti Maṅgalya (Festival)

The Kārti Festival held in November had as its chief element the lighting of thousands of little clay lamps round the temples, Devāles and the king's court. This ceremony held with pomp and pageantry during the time of Rājasimha II is also described by Robert Knox.<sup>2</sup> A procession resembling the Asala procession was also in evidence at this festival and the statues of popular deities were taken in this procession.<sup>3</sup>

New Rice Festival.

After the harvest in January the New Rice Festival (Alut Sālmāṅgalya) was held. On an auspicious day the peasants performing Rājakāriya brought to Kandy

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1. MSA.p.39.
  2. HRCp.125.
  3. MSA. p.40.

bags of newly harvested rice and ceremonially presented the rice to the Court, the temple of the Tooth, Asgiriya, Malvatta Temples, the Devālas and the Chiefs. It can be surmised that this festival had its origins in a period prior to the Kandyan period.<sup>1</sup>

### The Pirit Chanting Ceremony

The Catubhānavāra Pāli, embodying a collection of Suttas uttered by the Buddha, came to be chanted in order to ward off evil only after the passing away of the Buddha. Before this the Buddha and his disciples had used pirit on certain occasions.<sup>2</sup> The chanting of Pirit became popular after the Daṁbadeṇi period.<sup>3</sup> The all-night pirit chanting originated during this period. However, the pirit chanting ceremonies were performed differently in the Kandyan period.

In the pirit chanting ceremonies of the Kandyan period the Gods were given an important place. The present practice of offering a lamp to God Gambāra before beginning the pirit chanting ceremony is a relic of the customs of the Kandyan period. King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasimha suffered from an eye ailment and in order to evoke the blessing of

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1. It is said that the ceremony originated during the time of King Sirimevan.
  2. Dhammapadaṭṭha Katha. Hatthālavaka Vatthu
  3. Daṁbadeṇiyā Kathikāvata (Kalikāvat Saṅgarāva).



the Triple Gem and of the Gods so that a cure may be effected, a week's pirit chanting ceremony was organized in the Pōyamalu Vihāra in Kandy.<sup>1</sup> The present ceremonies, performed at the end of a week's pirit chanting are derived from this ceremony. The invocation of the Gods by playing on the Magul Bera before starting the pirit ceremony is considered an integral part of the whole proceeding.

#### Dorakaḍa Asna.

The merit, accumulated from the pirit chanting was to be distributed to Gods. For that purpose a Godly messenger called Deva<sup>1</sup>ḍūḥa was sent with a message which included the names of the Gods in all important Vihāras and Devāla<sup>2</sup> in Ceylon. The Godly messenger was carried in procession to the nearest temple or kōvil and after his return he declared the fulfilment of his journey whilst standing before the door leading to the Pirit Chamber. This message by the Doorway or Dorakaḍa Asna was a custom which originated at this time and is performed even today.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Message of Advice.

After this ceremony of Dorakaḍa Asna, a monk

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1. Senkaḍagala Itihāsaya (Karunātilake) p. 60.
  2. The temples, enumerated in the Nam Pota.
  3. See Pirit Pota (Śrī Pragaḥsāra) pp.26-67.

recites the Anusāsana<sup>1</sup> Asna in order to offer merit to the Gods assembled here. These two Asnas composed during the Kandyan period were based on a metrical pattern known as Vṛtta Gaṇḍhi.

In these two Asnas the blessings of South Indian, Dutch, Portuguese and other Western Gods are also invoked. The South Indian Gods such as Oḍḍivaḍiga are offered merits though not considered to be Buddhist Gods because of the wrong belief in them. But Pattini God, considered to be a powerful god during this period, is not mentioned in the two Asnas. This was not an omission because it was the opinion of the monks of that time that the God Pattini and Panam did not like to attend Pirit Ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> The monks were not willing to go to a pirit ceremony near Mādagaḍa Devāla because they thought that Pattini resided there.<sup>3</sup> Further, as it was said that Solī Kumāra Devi had dropped a bone from the carcass of a bull into the midst of 60 monks chanting pirit in Bintāna, and had drunk the blood from the heads of the bhikkhus, the monks were unwilling to go to Bintāna to chant pirit.<sup>4</sup> The Solī Kumāra is said to be the son of Elāra who was put

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1. Pirit Pota (Sri Pragāsāra) pp. 268-72.
  2. See the account of Panam Devi.
  3. P.E.Pieris (The Portuguese Era). p. 203.
  4. Ethnology Vol. III. p.220.

to death by his father for having killed a calf. But according to other sources he can be identified as Panam God.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Panam God also killed 60 bhikkhus.

Even today bhikkhus are unwilling for these reasons to chant pirit in Bintāna and Tamankaḍuva. That is why they are not mentioned in the Anusāsana Asna. But one great fault of the author of the Anusāsana Asna is to refer to the South Indian Demons as Buddhist Gods.

### Ātānātiya

After the Anusāsana Asna comes the preaching of the Ātānātiya Sūtra.<sup>2</sup> It is the Sūtra preached to the Buddha by Vaiśravaṇa on behalf of the Four Guardian Gods to give protection to monks, nuns and laymen and lay women from the harm done by evil spirits. People are fond of this Sutta as they believe that it has power to expel demons. Even the monks at the time preached it with awe and respect. Some demons are reputed to have set fire to the baṇa preaching hall before the arrival of the procession carrying Devāla patra, the message of gods. Therefore in Ceylon, even today monks go on preaching Mahāsamaya Sutta prior to the arrival of the Devālapatra procession to prevent mischief by the

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1. See Panam Devi.

2. When the Four Guardian Gods went away the Buddha preached this Suttā to the monks. Dīgha Nikāya.

1  
demons.

The idea that some deities and demons dislike pirit ceremonies is spread by the devil dancers and keepers of shrines. If people flocked in large numbers to pirit ceremonies they would not get a sufficient income. The worshippers of Gods found that their income would disappear if people took to the chanting of Ratanasūtra, and hence spread stories of ridicule. The following verse testifies to that fact:-

sētak kappavā sīri budinnē  
saṅga sāta namakut ekaṭān venne  
etana siṭan laksaya puravanne  
gon gātē ē mādaṭa damanne<sup>2</sup>

Sixty were beheaded and their blood was sucked,  
Sixty monks were gathered together;  
When they were completing the hundred thousand,  
A bull's thigh was thrown amidst them.

Even today monks do not like to chant the Ratanasūtra a hundred thousand times, owing to the obstructionist measures taken by God Panam. The monks are of the opinion that it

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1. This custom is prevalent in Southern Province of Ceylon.
  2. Ethnology Vol.III. p.220.

is impossible to chant so many times as that. The chanting of pirit in Ceylon is full of Hindu and Mahāyāna rituals.<sup>1</sup>

### Sports.

Some of the sports which were inaugurated to please the gods and which had a religious significance are still popular. Especially during the times of epidemic the sport called 'Aṅkeliya' was held,<sup>2</sup> to placate the goddess Pattini and get her blessings.

### Aṅkeliya.

Soon after inviting the gods and planting Kapa, a pillar of promise, the villagers formed themselves into two sides called Uḍupila and Yaṭipila. They participated in the game with great fervour. If the Yaṭipila side won, it meant that the village would be rid of the epidemic as the popular belief was that Goddess Pattini gave her patronage to the Yaṭipila side. The following story describes Aṅkeliya as a sport of the Gods.<sup>3</sup>

One day Pattini and Pālaṅga went to pluck Champaka flowers to the orchard of king of Pāṇḍya. God Viskam gave them two hooks to pluck the flowers. While

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1. See the Preface to Gṛhya Sūtra by Dr. Dehigaspē Pragnāsāra.
  2. Robert Knox mentions about Aṅkeliya.
  3. JRASCB.Vol.XXVIII. No. 73.

plucking flowers their hooks got entangled in the tree. They had a violent struggle to disentangle their hooks. Pālaṅga and his followers were on the upper side, while Pattini and her followers were on the other side. Pattini's side won in the end. After that, to get a clear decision they decided to engage in Aṅkeliya once again.

With an andara horn obtained from Devundara, they engaged in the game at Bintūna. Pālaṅga had gods on his side while Pattini had the Goddess of earth as her aide.<sup>1</sup> Pattini's side won once again.

The village folk treat the Aṅkeliya as a symbol of Pattini's victory and hold the game of Aṅkeliya<sup>2</sup> as an offering to her. Even now-a-days Aṅkeliya games are held but they often end in brawls.

### Polkeliya.

This game is yet another offering to goddess Pattini.

eran tūmbili pol aragena suratata  
varan lūbuni gini pattini apa haṭa  
siyalu rōga duruveyī ginihalanibata<sup>3</sup>  
bidunā uḍu pilayē pol hanikata.

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1. Aṅkeli Upata - Ethnology. Vol.II. p. 307.
  2. Sinhala Janasammata Kāvya, p. 15.
  3. Sinhala Janasammata Kāvya p. 16.

Having taken king coconuts in the right hand,  
 We got permission from Gini Pattini;  
 All illnesses disappear by the power of the Fire  
 anklet,  
 The coconut in the upper rank was cracked soon.

If the coconuts belonging to the Uḍupila in this game get cracked earlier, that is taken as a sign of the victory of Pattini. People believed that this game rid them of epidemics.

### Kōlmura.

The hymns sung by hirelings as thanksgiving to gods, are called Kōlmura.<sup>1</sup> These are also known as Kavikōlmura. There are thirty five such thanksgiving poems. As described in the verse book Vittihata<sup>2</sup> the verses of thanksgiving to goddess Pattini are in seven cantos. The kōlmura verses describe the Laṭukika Jātaka, how king Elāra executed his son for slaughtering a calf and other stories of punishments to outlaws. The idea of Kōlmura verses was to show how Pattini punished the king of Pāṇḍya and exhibited her prowess. The verses sung at the temple of the Tooth at Kandy nowadays may be a relic of Kōlmura verses.

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1. Pattini Kōlmura, Purāṇa Sivupada Saṅgrahava, page 88-90.
  2. Ethnology Vol. III. p. 216.

### The Nānumura

Nānumura verses were sung when Pattini and other gods went bathing.<sup>1</sup> They are thirty five in number. These are sung on the occasion of the bathing ceremonies of Pattini and other gods. This too is a kind of offering to gods. The introduction of Tēvamura and Nānumura to the routine at the temple of the Tooth, may have been an imitation of these Nānumura offerings.

### The Dalumura

Another form of offering to please the gods was known as the Dalumura ceremony.<sup>2</sup> The betel leaf was given a place of honour during the Kandyan period. The betel leaf was taken not only for offerings to gods but was also hung on the canopy of the Pirit preaching pavilion. The reason may have been to please the gods again. Betel was offered to Piṭṭiye Devi, Devatābandāra and Pattini. The god worshipping versifiers deliberately connected the betel leaf with Buddhist ritual in order to popularise it.

As mentioned in the poem "Dalumura Upata"<sup>3</sup> the betel leaf was known as Abhayapatra during the era of Kakusañda Buddha. It was called Paṇḍupulpatra in Koṇāgama Buddha's era. The same leaf called Kirulapatra in Kassapa

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1. Pantis Nānumura, Purāna Sivupada Saṅgrahava, 91-92.
  2. Ms. Dalumura Upata Kavi (Colombo Museum). No. 3011.
  3. Ed. M.D. Appuhāmy 1923.



Buddha era, came to be known as Nāgavalli during the era of Gautama Buddha.<sup>1</sup> Next the story of the betel is connected with the Sasa Jātaka. When the Bodhisatva was once born as a hare, god Śakra had his picture drawn on the surface of the moon. The paint brush though dropped to the earth and fell into the Nāga world. King Mucalinda<sup>2</sup> the Nāga king who swallowed it died within seven days owing to severe burns of the throat. As he had burnt his throat, betel became known as "Giridā". The tendrils of the betel creeper are given this name. But there is yet another modified version of this story. The poet says that as the betel had sprung from the guarded spot where Nāga king Mucalinda was cremated, it is called "Dalumura". From the tail of the Nāga king has sprung the branches, from the body the creeper and from the hood, the leaf. Thus it is called the "Nāgavalli".

When the Buddha visited Kūḷaniya, Nāgas ceased their quarrel and offered him the betel they had brought. Goddess Umā had all those transplanted round a mango tree. This betel went in all directions. Earlier though called

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1. No such story is mentioned in Jātaka stories.
  2. It is known that under the hood of this Nāga King the Buddha spent the sixth week after His Enlightenment.

nāgavalli it became known as 'Bulat',<sup>1</sup> after being planted on the ground. Not only for offerings to Buddha and the gods but even for monks and kings betel is used as an offering of honour. There was a special tray made of gold to make betel offerings to Sinhalese kings.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Budugunā<sup>3</sup> Lankāraya<sup>3</sup> specifically seeks to avoid the worship of planets and observance of rituals, according to Gonzalvez the people had become highly addicted to these. When illness occurred offerings were made on the assumption that it was caused by unfavourable planets.<sup>4</sup> Robert Knox describes how clay images of planet-gods were made and offerings were made before them in order to get their blessings. When one was under the influence of bad stars even the protection of gods Viṣṇu and Kataragama was solicited.

Some monks included Pāli stanzas in the pirit in order to invoke their blessings.

yaṇḍunninittāṃ avamaṅgalaṃ<sup>ṇ</sup> ca  
yo cāmanāpo sakunassa saddo  
pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ akantaṃ  
buddhānubāvena vināsamentu<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. Būlatā, the creeper received by the earth, has become Bulat. This is what some interpret.
  2. Ananda Coomaraswamy. MSA. 205.
  3. Buddha Bana Prathyakṣaya p. 31.
  4. HRC. p. 122.
  5. Pirit pota (Pragñāsāra Nāyaka Edition<sup>6</sup> 284).

Evil omens and inauspicious objects,  
 Unpleasant noises of birds,  
 Wicked planets and evil dreams,  
 May disappear by the virtue of Buddha.

These stanzas were chanted particularly for that purpose. They are alien to Catubhāṇavāra Pāli and show distinct Mahāyāna and Hindu influences.<sup>1</sup>

The ignorant people ascribed even slight illnesses to the evil spell of demons and were prone to make them sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> That may be the reason that made Gonzalvez mention that though the people were Buddhists by religion they indulged in sacrificial rituals to demons. If a devil bird cried by accident people believed it to be a portent of disaster for the whole village. It was believed that a devil had possessed the devil bird and a red cockerel was immediately offered to him as a sacrifice. Mentioned in "Dorakaḍa Asna" as "nisākākarava"<sup>3</sup> was the voice of the crow in the night, which was considered an ill omen. "sakunassa saddo" is also the same.

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1. See Ch. IV.
  2. IIRC.p. 123.
  3. IIRC. p. 125.

Devil Dancing.

People who made various offerings and games to please the gods did not hesitate to make similar offerings to demons. The popular rituals to demons are called Yakkam or devil dances. Of these Kohōmbā Yakkama is prevalent in Kandyan areas even today.<sup>1</sup> The story connected with ritual runs thus:-

God Śakra asked God Īśvara to send Malaraju to Ceylon to cure the illness of King Paṇḍuvasdev who was the successor to king Vijaya. God Īśvara ordered Rāhu to take Malaraja to Ceylon. Rāhu assumed the form of a wild boar and started to destroy the park of Malaraja. Then Malaraja armed with bow and arrow, with his brothers Kitsiri and Saṇḍaliṇḍu began to chase the wild boar. The animal crossed the sea and landed in Ceylon at Urātota. Malaraja chased the animal further, and finally killed it. Then he attended to the illness of king Paṇḍuvasdev and dispelled all evil influences.<sup>2</sup>

This incident is described in Kohōmbā Yakkama with a host of names of demons. This ceremony takes eighteen full hours. A similar ceremony is the Kohōmbā Kaṅkāriya.

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1. Sinhalese Literature (Dr. C.E. Godakumbure).
  2. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya. The author possesses a photostat copy of the ola book - found at National Museums at Vienna.

To that was later added the Kaḍavara Kaṅkāriya.<sup>1</sup>

### Superstitions.

Apart from these there were a large number of other superstitions widespread at the time. The chief among them were the effect of the evil mouth, evil eye, curses, black magic, etc. These are believed in even today. "Hin dosa" is the weakness of those born on the 7th, 14th and 21st of the twenty seven constellations.

The Koḍivina<sup>2</sup> and Hūniyan<sup>3</sup> are forms of black magic worked by mantrams. The remedy for all these forms of black magic was the devil dancing ceremony and the cutting of limes.<sup>4</sup> The cutting of limes was a popular way to invoke the blessings of gods prevalent among the Sinhalese always. The Sinhalese believe that lime is a strong antiseptic.

### The Origin of Lime.

When Rāhu was bitten by the Nāgas or Cobras in the Nāga world he sucked out the poison and blew it at the sun and moon. The sun and moon became unconscious owing to the poison and fell on the earth. The Universe was plunged into darkness. The gods asked the sages named Ambara

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1. JRAS. April 1946 p. 14-22.
  2. A variety of mantrams or charms to destroy houses and families.
  3. JRASCB. Vol. XXX, No. 79.
  4. See Sataḍiye Dehikāpīma, Sataḍiprūramba etc.

and Pombara to find a remedy for this. The sages searched for lime in order to find a remedy by blessing. Then Sakra threw an emerald stone bathed in his sweat in order to dispel the darkness of the world. But the emerald fell on the hood of the Cobra king Mahakela Nāraja, who swallowed the emerald. Then originated the lime<sup>1</sup>, with the pods out of the poisonous fangs, seeds out of the teeth, juice out of the saliva, and the pleasant smell out of the sweat of God Sakra. The lime, thus originated, was brought by Ananda Thera to this world and given to the sages. It was obtained despite the reluctance of the Nāraja or Cobra king. The sages rejected and threw it away saying that it was polluted. But the lime crossed the seven oceans and arrived at the doorstep of the sages once again. The seeds germinated and plants grew up. The limes borne by that tree were cut and consequently the poisonous effect<sup>2</sup> on the sun and moon was removed.

#### The Giraya (ereca-cutter)

The ereca-cutter used in cutting limes is an equally important tool. A Giraya was used by Prince Oḍḍisa to cut limes to dispel the evil effect on Queen

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1. Ms. Dehi Upata, No.324 (Colombo Museum).

2. Ethnology Vol.I. p. 306.

Māṇikpāla. This was made by Viśvakarma with iron taken from Mount Meru.<sup>1</sup> On the left eye of the Giraya lives the moon, on the right eye the sun, and on either hand the Four Guardian Gods. On the blade lives Rāhu. It is also believed that the gods Aṇḍunmāla, Saṇḍunmāla, Samandevi, Saṇḍadevi, live on the Giraya.<sup>2</sup> The women folk in Kandyan areas believe that it has power to dispel demons, and therefore take a giraya when going alone. The ordinary men gave betel, lime and giraya a high place of honour thinking that they were objects connected with gods. In this way various forms of blessings were held in order to allay the evil effect of black magic. In all these forms the powers and attributes of Buddha were mentioned. Sometimes verses were recited giving the attributes and powers of the Twenty Four Buddhas or the Seven Weeks or Pāramitā Stories.<sup>3</sup> Some recited the powers of the anklet of goddess Pattini or the powers of Guardian Gods.<sup>4</sup> People had degenerated so much that they even went to the extent of putting into verse how the chief disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna-Arahants, had to dispel such evil effects that affected even Buddha. Examine the following

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1. Barnett says it is a creation of Oḍḍisa (AGSEBS) p.9.
  2. See Ms. Dehi Upata.
  3. See Atavisi Maṅgalyaya, Vessantara Maṅgalyaya, Pāramitha Sāntiya, Buduguna Sāntiya, Puwakmote, Buduguna sirasapādaya.
  4. Malyahan Kavi and Pattini Sirasa Pādaya (Ed. Cornelis Perera)

verse:-

sāriyut mugalan ekalā  
 vina kapanta sādū kalā  
 muniduṭa gos sāla karalā  
 munidun vina nāta ekalā<sup>1</sup>

When Sariyut and Mugalan  
 Were ready to cut the spell,  
 Buddha was informed of it;  
 Then Buddha was free from evils.

The material already produced is sufficient to illustrate the rituals and superstitions that existed or were practised during the 17th and 18th centuries in Ceylon. It was on the evidence of these that Gonzalvez said, that first it was Śiva worship then Buddhism, later the worship of gods and finally the worship of demons that was prevalent in Ceylon.

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1. Ms. Bodhisatva Kāthāva Ethnology, Vol.II p. 2.



## CHAPTER IX

### Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries

Right from the dawn of Ceylon history the Sinhalese kings maintained political and cultural relations with Northern India. During the Anurādhapura period the arrival of Buddhism from North India was instrumental in further strengthening these ties. However, during the Polonnaruwa period relations with South India were also established.

#### Rāmañña

With the accession of King Vijayabāhu I, said to be the earliest of the Polonnaruwa kings, cultural relations were established between Ceylon and Aramaṇa<sup>1</sup> or Rāmañña (Arimardana City). There were no suitable bhikkhus in Ceylon at the time who could give higher ordination (upasampadā) and so the king sent messengers to Rāmañña asking King Anuruddha to send bhikkhus to Ceylon. King Anuruddha having accepted the gifts sent from Ceylon, allowed twenty pious monks to go to Ceylon. These bhikkhus gave ordination in a Hall of Confession surrounded by the water of the river Mahavāli\* at Dāstoṭa to thousands of novices. The Sāsana

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1. CV. ch. 23.

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\* Uḍakukkhepa sīma.

Vaṃsa records that four ministers accompanied these foreign monks to Ceylon and took away a large number of religious books. These were compared with the texts obtained from the city of Sudhamma and having proved the authenticity of the material, they are reported to have held these texts in high veneration.<sup>1</sup>

The Saṅgharāja Sādhū Cariya,<sup>2</sup> Siṃhala Vimānavastu Prakaraṇa<sup>3</sup> and other works written during the Kandyan period refer to Paigovva and Paigova. These names refer to modern Pegu or as it was known earlier, Rāmañña. Burma alluded to it in the Pāli texts as Marammaraṭṭa that had hegemony over Rāmañña. According to Sir Baron Jayatilaka, king Anuruddha is referred to in Burmese history as Anavuratha.<sup>4</sup>

The cultural relations so established between Ceylon and Rāmañña continued unbroken until the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great. But in the 12th year of the reign of Parākramabāhu, the ill treatment meted out by the king of Rāmañña to Sinhalese traders and to the Sinhalese princess sent to Cambodia interrupted these relations. The Cūlavāṃsa states that Parākramabāhu the Great sent a large army and having defeated the king of Rāmañña forced him to pay tribute.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Sir D.B.Jayatilake (SSL) p. 38.

2. Sannasgala Ed. p. 10.

3. p. 216, Ed. 1939.

4. SSL.

5. CV. Ch. 30.

However it is also recorded that the people of Rāmañña persuaded the Sinhalese bhikkhus to intercede on their behalf with Parākramabāhu and so liberated their country.

The Devnagala Inscription records that General Kitnuvaragal who led the Sinhalese forces to victory against Rāmañña was given gifts of land by the king. The inscription further records that the king of Rāmañña at that time was Bhuvanāditya.<sup>1</sup> The cultural link established between Rāmañña and Ceylon owing to Buddhist influence existed for a long time and evidence for this can be seen in the Pāli poem Rāmañña Sandesa.<sup>2</sup>

#### Relations with China.

Apart from Rāmañña, Ceylon had relations with China. The origin of these relations can be traced to the travels of Fa Hien. Sir D.B.Jayatilake describes how in 420 A.C. a Sinhalese Bhikkhu, Saṅghavarma by name, went to China and translated the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya.<sup>3</sup> According to the Bhikṣupī Nidāna,<sup>4</sup> Sinhalese nuns went to China in 433 A.C. and established a bhikkhuni order there. Thus we can conclude that from time to time bhikkhus and bhikkhunis reached China and propagated the Dhamma there. The fact that

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1. EZ., Vol. III, p. 320.

2. Ed. 1893.

3. SLP. p. 49.

4. JRAS (GB) April, 1903, pp. 369-70.

the Chinese general Shang Ho captured Alakeśvara of Kōṭṭe<sup>1</sup> and removed him to China is testimony to the fact that Ceylon-China links existed right down to the Kōṭṭe period.

### Relations with Siam

The relations between Ceylon and Siam are a matter of common knowledge. The Siamese sect established by Upālī Thera is ample testimony to this fact. The present relations with Siam originated in the 18th century. Nevertheless, the relation with Siam also have a history dating as far back as the 13th century.

In the 13th century there existed the kingdom of Dvāravātī in the Menan Basin in Siam. When this area was under the hegemony of Cambodia, Mahāyānism and Hinduism reigned supreme. But with the capture of this area by the Siamese kings, states Dr. Paranavitāna, Theravāda Buddhism and Pāli assumed prominence.<sup>2</sup> However, repeated invasions from South China might have resulted in the admixture of Mahāyānism with Theravāda Buddhism. After the defeat and rout of the Cambodia kings, two independent kingdoms known as Sukhodaya and Ayodhya were born and its

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1. Saddharmāṭṭhānā, p. 294.

2. JRAS(CB) Vol. XXXII. p. 191.

inhabitants accepted Theravāda Buddhism.

According to the Pāli work Jinakālamālini,<sup>1</sup> an image of Buddha was taken from Ceylon to Siam during the reign of King Rocharāja of Siam. This king ruled the Sukhodays kingdom in the 13th century. After discussions with king Siridhamma of Tām̃balingamuva or Tām̃baraṭṭha<sup>4</sup> he sent a message to Ceylon asking for a holy image. But the ship carrying the image was wrecked and it is said that the statue by its miraculous power reached king Siridhamma who sent it on to Rōcharāja.

Cūlavamsa states that in the 13th century during the reign of Parākramabāhu II, a Jāvanese named Candrabhānu invaded Ceylon. He was no other than the king Siridhamma of Tām̃balingamuve, referred to in the Jinakālamālini.<sup>2</sup> He may have obtained the statue referred to above and given it to king Rocharāja. Cūlavamsa records that during this time Parākramabāhu II brought down from Tām̃balingamuva a monk known as Dharmakīrti, well versed in the Tripiṭaka.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Paranavitāna states that Tām̃baraṭṭha, referred to in Pāli chronicles is Tām̃balingamuva which is known in Malayalese as Sītāmrāṭṭha<sup>4</sup>. These facts go to show that the relations

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1. Buddhaghatta edition p; 72 published in 1956 by Rev. P. Buddhaghatta under the title Jinakālamāli.
  2. Ch. 51.
  3. Ch. 47.
  4. JRAS(CB) Vol. XXXII. p. 196.

between Siam and Ceylon originated and existed through  
 Tāmbaratṭa.<sup>1</sup>

The image, taken from Ceylon was later carried to the city of Jayanāda from Sukhodaya kingdom by the king of Lidayya. This image is known by the name of Prāṣsihing in the Siamese language. It is known that the image was taken from place to place by the Siamese kings periodically. At present there are three images in Siam by that name. One of them is in the Bangkok museum and the other is kept in a temple called Vat Prāsihing while the third is worshipped in Nikon Sī Thāmraṭ. It has been said that the Siamese kings, time and again, had built temples for this miraculous image. From the following stanza:-

nabbisiṃhi ca jamrāye  
 fathā pallāṅka dīpake  
 pūjitā nararājūhi  
 siṃhala paṭimuttamā<sup>2</sup>

In the cities of Nabbisi and Jamrāya  
 And even in Pallāṅkadīpaka  
 Respected by the kings of men  
 Was the noble Siṃhala image.

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1. This is a narrow landscape, situated between Siam and the Malayan Peninsula.
  2. Ed. Buddhadhatta p. 76.

it is clear that this Sinhalese image was respected by the kings in Nabbisi, Jamrāya and Pallāṅkadīpaka.

### Sinhalese Monks in Siam

As stated earlier, Rāmañña and Burma are one and the same. Jinakālamālīni gives a detailed account of the law in the 14th century. A Ceylonese monk called Udumbara went to Rāmañña and a novice called Sumana, together with his friend received higher ordination under this Udumbara Mahāsāmi.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequently the monk Sumana went to Dharmarāja, the king of Sukhodaya and there propagated Buddhism. This Udumbara Mahāsāmi is said to have sent a monk called Ananda to King Kilanā of Nabbisi. As the Siamese monks belonged to the Vanavāsi Fraternity Ananda Thera did not like to hold ecclesiastical functions with them, and consequently he sent a message for Sumana Thera of Sukhodaya. Sumana was unable to go there, so that another monk called Saddhātissa was sent in his place.

Although Udumbarā Thera has been identified as a Mahāsāmi in Jinakālamālīni no mention in the chronicles of Ceylon has been made of a Saṅgharāja who went to Siam from

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1. Ed. Buddhadhatta p. 71.
  2. The centre of the Vanavāsa Fraternity in Ceylon during the Polonnaruva period.

Ceylon. Therefore it can be concluded that this Thera must undoubtedly be another monk in the Diṃbulāgala sect.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Ananda Thera, mentioned above should be a monk from Ceylon, but the fact that he was reluctant to participate in Vinaya ceremonies of the bhikkhus of the Vanavāsi Fraternity clearly shows that he was a monk of the Village Fraternity in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup>

Jinakālāmālīni mentions of a Sīhalārama built for the purpose of residence of Sinhalese monks in the following verse:-

tadā bhūminda rājāno  
 utthāpesi vihārakaṃ  
 mahācetiya mārāme  
 sīhalārāmakepi ca<sup>3</sup>

Then the lords of the world  
 Constructed a temple  
 In Mahācetiya-rāma and  
 In Sīhalārama too.

#### Visit of a Ceylonese Prelate to Siam

Dr. Paraṇavitāna points out that the Vatjayi inscription in Sukhodaya mentions the visit of a Sinhalese

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1. The centre of the Vanavāsa Fraternity in Ceylon during the Polonnaruva period.
  2. Jinakālāmālīni p. 98.
  3. Buddhadatta Edition p. 98.



Saṅgharāja to Siam at the invitation of the Siamese king of Lidayya.<sup>1</sup> The king had given shelter during the rainy season and treated the Saṅgharāja who was a devotee of gods as well. The above mentioned Siamese king had become a monk and pupil of the Saṅgharāja and was qualifying in various rites to be a future Buddha. Yet he was forced to give up robes and reoccupy the throne when the people clamoured for his return. The fact that the Saṅgharāja was a devotee of gods and that the king had become a pupil monk of his, indicates that he was not a legitimate Saṅgharāja of Ceylon, but a non-Ceylonese who had come under Hindu and Mahāyāna influences.

Even after the Ayodhya kings there had been relations between Siam and Ceylon. King Paramarāja built a hermitage called Laṅkāramaya there. The book, Saddhamma Saṅgaha written by Dharmakīrti Sāmaṇera, mentions the fact that he had come from India to Ceylon, where he obtained ordination from Saṅgharāja Dharmakīrti and thence proceeded to Siam.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. C.M.de Z. Wikramsiṅha and Mudaliyar Louis de Silva state that Dharmakīrti Thera was a Saṅgharāja in Ceylon. But Dr. Malalasekara who disagrees with them says that the monk was an Indian. Dr. Paraṇavitāna declares that Dhammakīrti

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1. JRAS.(CB) Vol.XXXII. p. 201.

2. Pāli Literature of Ceylon. p. 245. (Dr.G.P.Malalasekara).

Thera must be an Indian as his Pāli literary works are greatly influenced by Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> This view is quite reasonable. The conclusion that emerges is that the missionary activities of Ceylonese bhikkhus had lasted for some centuries in Rāmañña and Siam. This Buddhistic relation between Far Eastern Countries and Ceylon were further maintained.

#### Ordination of Siamese Monks.

During the reign of Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, Sāsanāvamsaya says that ordination was carried from Ceylon to Siam.<sup>2</sup> Among this mission that came from Siam and Cambodia in 1425 A.C. were twenty five chief monks including Mahā Dhammagambhīra, Mahā Medhāṅkara and eight others. Jinakālamālīni mentions the total number of monks including the six arrivals from Rāmañña as thirty nine.<sup>3</sup>

At the ordination ceremony under the patronage of King Śrī Parākramabāhu, performed at Yāpāpaṭuna on ū Kālani river, Kāragala Vanaratana Thera officiated as the teacher of kammavāṇca in chief. After learning the lore of Sāsana and worshipping the sacred places like Śrī Pāda,

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1. JRAS (CB) Vol. XXXII. p. 202.

2. Kotmale Siri Saddhamma Vamsa Edition (Siam is mentioned as Marammaratṭha).

3. Buddhadatta Edition p. 77.

the visiting monks had to leave Ceylon owing to a famine. The fact that during the reign of king Tissa a delegation of monks had arrived at Nabbisipura, is given in Jinakālamālīni in this verse:-

tasmin nabbisipurasmiṃ<sup>1</sup>  
kārente tissa rājini  
medhaṅkarādayo therā  
laṅkādiṭṭhā idhāgamuṃ<sup>2</sup>

In that city of Nabbisi,  
When king Tissa was reigning  
Medhaṅkara and other Theras  
Arrived here from Ceylon.

When these bhikkhus returned to Siam, the Sinhalese monks named Mahāvikramabāhu and Mahā Uttama pañña Theras too accompanied them. Thus originated a religious sect in Siam known as the Siṅhala Saṅgha. Medhaṅkara Thera who was an Indo-Chinese by birth, had a Śrī Pāda constructed by king Paramapāla Dharmarāja. There was planted a Bō sapling taken from Anurādhapura. It is also mentioned that Medhaṅkara Thera had taken the sacred relics of the Buddha from Ceylon.

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1. 'Pure' Jinakālamālīni (Buddhadatta).

2. Ed. Buddhadatta p. 76.

As a result of Siamese-Ceylonese relations, Ananda Coomaraswamy mentions that there are signs that Siamese sculpture had come under the influence of Sinhalese Art.<sup>1</sup>

### Higher Ordination to Rāmañña

During the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, a number of monks arrived in Ceylon to take away ordination to Rāmañña. King Bhuvanekabāhu who had accepted the presents brought by the bhikkhus from Rāmañña, had their ordination ceremony performed at Kālaṇi Gaṅga. The Kalyāṇi inscription mentions the names of Vidāgama, Dharmakīrti and Pañcapariveṇavāsi Maṅgala as the Ceylonese monks who performed the ordination ceremony.<sup>2</sup> The Court of Saṅgha to supervise the ordination was selected by Vidāgama Mahā Thera. Earlier mentioned was the reason why the then Saṅgharāja Śrī Rāhula Thera did not participate in this ordination ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

Polvatte Buddhādatta Maha Nāyaka Thera declares that the Rāmañña monks when they returned had constructed a Hall of Confession called Kalyāṇi in the City of Haṃsavati.<sup>4</sup> This name is still extant.

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1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art p. 177.
  2. Buddhādatta Thera's Lipi Saṅgrahaya, pp. 109, 110.
  3. See Ch. II.
  4. Lipi Saṅgrahaya p. 110.

### Higher Ordination from Rakkhaṅga

Another state that had established relations with Ceylon during the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya I, was Rakkhaṅga.<sup>1</sup> Rakkhaṅga, also named Arakan, is none other than West Burma. As there were no monks with Higher Ordination at the time the king had to bring Upasampadā bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga. It was at Gēṭāmbetōṭa that they performed their ordination ceremony. Rakkhaṅga or Arakan was under Hindu Mahāyāna influences of the time.<sup>2</sup>

### Subsequent Ordination from Rakkhaṅga.

Again during the reign of King Vimaladharmasūrya II, Ceylon had to bring monks for Upasampadā from Rakkhaṅga. The embassy to Rakkhaṅga consisted of twenty delegates including Doḍaṃvala Hērat Muḍiyanse, Bāminivatte Disānāyaka Miduyanse and Sivagama Paṇḍita Midiyanse. The purpose of this mission was to discover whether ordination existed in Rakkhaṅga. They sailed to Rakkhaṅga in the Dutch ship named 'Bomba'. After cross-examining them the King of Rakkhaṅga promised to send Upasampadā monks to Ceylon. The name of this king is not mentioned anywhere. The embassy returned to Ceylon in 1694.

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1. See Chs. II, III.

2. See Ch. II.

After the mission's enquiry, king Vimaladharmasūrya II despatched a second embassy with presents to the king of Rakkhaṅga. Dodaṇṇaḥvala Hērāt Mudiyanse, Bāminivatte Disānāyaka Mudiyanse, Gampaha Vijētunga Mudiyanse, Sivagama Paṇḍita Mudiyanse and Galagama Mohoṭṭāla were included in the second embassy. They took five hundred aṭapirikaras along with them. The king of 'Arakan' solemnly received this embassy and despatched Santāna Lokarāgapudgala and thirty one more monks, who established the ordination in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> Kaḍadora Siṭṭuva<sup>2</sup> mentions the five names of Saṅkicca, Pañcalobha, Guṇameja, Akāpanna, Dhammānanda as some of the Arakanese monks.

'Lokarāga Pudgala' mentioned in Cūlavam̐sa, is given as 'Longrā Thera'\* in the Kaḍadora grant. This may be taken as accurate as it was written by a contemporary monk named Dharmakīrti Bhuvaneka. Bhuvaneka Thera was presented with a head gear by the Arakanese monks.<sup>3</sup> After their ordination they evolved a form of pirit chanting with Mahāyānic influence. After the ordination the Rakkhaṅga monks returned.<sup>4</sup> King Vimaladharmasūrya II sent a 'fact-finding' commission to probe the existing doctrine in Siam

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1. JRAS(CB) Vol. XXXV. No. 93, pp. 1-3.

2. See Appendix No. 1.

3. JRAS(CB) Vol. II (New Series) pp. 147-149.

4. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya.

\* "Longarā Pungali". Ms. Senkhaṇḍa Salla Sāsānavam̐sa, or 6606 (128).

in 1689. The mission headed by the Dutchman named Rondra Kauman does not seem to have included any Sinhalese. This mission went to Ayodhyā in Siam and had an audience with the local Prime Minister. After gathering information about the Siamese monks<sup>1</sup> the mission returned to Ceylon.

#### Relations between Siam and Ceylon (18th Century)

The history of cultural relations between Ceylon and Far Eastern countries has been traced earlier and it was further pointed out that these relations were established through Tambaraṭṭha. Although they were discontinued for the next two centuries they were re-established in the 18th century, through the Dutch Government of Batavia. When the Upasampadā, established by Vimaladharmasūrya II, disappeared, King Vijayarājasimha<sup>2</sup> despatched two missions to Siam. The first mission which consisted of several persons including Doraṇāgama Rāla and Mātara Rāla was unable to reach its destination as it was destroyed at sea; there being only three survivors who returned to Ceylon. Gammulle Ratnapāla mentions that they brought a book of Kammavācā, obtained from a monk of the Vanavāsi Fraternity of Siam.<sup>2</sup> The Ceylonese king was not discouraged

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1. JRAS(CB) Vol.XXXIV, No. 99. pp. 101-108.

2. SVVP. p. 246.

by this. He despatched the second mission headed by Doranāgama Rāla to Siam but when it arrived in Siam, Doranāgama Rāla died, and others of the mission died on the way home. Meanwhile, the death of King Vijayarājasin̄ha also occurred, and when this became known to Vilbāgedara Rāla<sup>1</sup> who was still alive in Siam, he came to Ceylon, but a Gaṇinnānse called Nattaṃburē who had gone to Siam with Doranāgama Rāla remained there.<sup>2</sup>

### Third Mission.

In the third year of King Kīrtiśrī Rājasin̄ha's reign the third mission was sent to Siam on the instructions of Vāliviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara by the same king. According to the account<sup>3</sup> of Vilbāgedara Rāla the mission consisted of the following delegates:-

Paṭṭapola Mohoṭṭāla,  
 Allepola Mohoṭṭāla,  
 Ayittāliyaḍḍe Muhandiram  
 Iriyagama Muhandiram,  
 Vilbāgedara Rāla.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Vilbāve Rāla.
  2. Ms. Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya, or Kitsir/Caritaya.
  3. Ms. This is in the possession of Degaldoruve Ratnapāla Thera, Malvatta Vihāra.
  4. In his account Vilbāgedara Rāla identified himself as Vilbāve Rāla, Vilbāve and Vilbave Naidā.



Of these Vilbāgedara Rāla was one of the delegates who went to Siam with the second mission, so that he acted as the guide this time but the leader of the mission was Paṭṭapola Mohoṭṭāla. In addition to these five persons, there were sixty one others, physicians, astrologers, soldiers, dancers and workers.

The mission started from Trincomalee on board a ship called Vel Trek<sup>1</sup> obtained from the Dutch. On their way they saw the Nikobar Islands and Acchin of Sumatra. The Governor of Malacca welcomed them and treated them well. The other countries they visited were Cambodia, Lugora and Muan. After one year's sea journey the mission reached Amsterdam,<sup>2</sup> a Dutch island on the mouth of the Siamese river. From there the Siamese officers took them through Muan Long District to a vihāra called Vat Prasāt. All their requirements were supplied by the Siamese King and finally they were taken to the city of Ayuthya where they met the Crown Prince of Siam and other ministers. Although the Sinhalese delegates had their lodging in the Dutch Fort in Ayuthya their food was supplied by the Siamese King.<sup>3</sup>

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1. JRAS (CE) Vol. XVIII, p. 44 Tāraka is the name given in Syāma Varṇanā (Ed. 1899).
  2. An island on the mouth of the Siam river, under the Dutch Government. Dhārmika was the name of the Siamese king.
  3. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

### How they met the King.

At first the Sinhalese delegates were instructed as to how they should behave in the presence of the king when they presented their gifts and messages from the King of Ceylon. When they were subsequently introduced to the king he greeted them and promised to send Siamese monks to Ceylon to establish Upasampadā. The delegates were much pleased and returned to their residence.<sup>1</sup>

### Pilgrimage.

During their stay in Siam, they had the opportunity of visiting important Buddhist shrines, and the Siamese King provided all the offerings they needed. The Sinhalese delegates worshipped at a large number of temples including Pāṃokprabhāt Mahārātnārāma, Vatprathayisuvan Vihāra, Mahā Pallāṅkārāma, Taparatna Mahā Dattārāma, Kujayonratnārāma and the Saccabaddha mountain where a foot-print of the Buddha is supposed to be imprinted. As it was the rainy season they were able to see a Kaṭhina ceremony in Siam. They had to wait in Siam till the rainy season was over.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

2. Syāma Varṇanā. (Ed. 1789).

The Siamese monks who came to Ceylon.

In accordance with the pledge, Dhārmika, the Siamese King, gave the Sinhalese delegates a group of monks including Upāli Thera and five ministers together with their servants.<sup>1</sup> In addition he handed over a golden image of the Buddha and a royal message to the Ceylonese King. According to the account given by Vilbāgedara Rāla, the twenty five Siamese monks who were assigned to come to Ceylon were as follows:-

Prā<sup>2</sup>Upāli Mahā Thera<sup>3</sup>

Prā Aryamuni Mahā Thera

Mahā Indasuvanna Thera

Mahā Brahmasvara Thera

Mahā Mapisāra Thera

Mahā Dhammajota Thera

Mahā Muni Thera

Mahā Canda Suvanna Thera<sup>4</sup>

Mahā Assami Thera

Mahā Paññasa Thera<sup>5</sup>

Mahā Sāracandana Thera

Mahā Puññajāta Thera

- 
1. Vilbādegara's account.
  2. In Siamese language 'Prā' means 'Great'.
  3. His full name is Prā Buddhadhamma Upāli.
  4. Mahānāma - Syāmapasampadā vata.
  5. Mahā Puṇṇa - ibid.

Mahā Candasāra Thera  
 Mahā Brahmajota Thera  
 Mahā Raṭṭha Thera<sup>1</sup>  
 Mahā Candajota Thera  
 Mahā Svarṇa Thera  
 Mahā Indajota Thera<sup>2</sup>

All these eighteen were upasampadā monks; the seven others were Siamese novices who came to attend upon the Elders.

Syāmavarṇana, a book written by a contemporary author states that twenty-nine Siamese monks - twenty-one upasampadā monks and eight novices - came to Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> But Vilbāgedara's account can be considered authentic as the author of Syāmopasampadā vata also holds the same opinion. Saṅgharāja Sādhu Cariyāva does not give a definite number but mentions that a group of ten plus some other (atireka daśavargika)<sup>4</sup> monks arrived from Siam. This problem can be solved with the help of an account given in Mandārapura Puvata. It states:-

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1. Mani Joti - Ibid.
  2. SUV. states Jota as Joti.
  3. p. 25.
  4. p. 14.

On the third day of the waning moon in the month of Asaḷa,  
 (month of crab)  
 Having entered the sīma of Malvatu Vihāra, bounded by  
 the village,  
 With the nineteen Siamese monks at hand,  
 There were seated the novices, descendants of the line  
 of their teachers.  
 Three refuges and ten precepts were conferred systematically,  
 When the upasampadā was given the crowd on either side  
 applauded,  
 Cannon and conches, bugles and drums blared forth,  
 Thus they showed their respect and delight.<sup>1</sup>

This account helps to prove that the number of Siamese monks was eighteen. It has been well known that a Siamese novice was given upasampadā on the previous day and with him nineteen monks participated in this ceremony. Therefore, the opinion that twenty five monks came to Ceylon is quite justifiable.

Although Syāmavarṇanā has been considered to be an authentic account of the Siamese mission, it has made a grave mistake in including the two names Brahmaśvara and Mahā Muni twice in the list and enlisting Koṭṭhita who was a novice as an upasampadā monk. A list of all the names of the Siamese monks and novices appears in the Daḷada Aṣṭaka<sup>2</sup>

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1. vv. 196, 197 (Ed. Laṅkānanda).
  2. Photostat copy. Library of Government Archivist, Nuwara Eliya.

Sanne written by Vāva Indasara but Koṭṭhita's name is not given there. It is said that a Siamese minister entered the Buddhist order and later obtained upasampadā. This Koṭṭhita must undoubtedly be that minister.

### Siamese Ministers

Together with the above-mentioned monks five Siamese ministers<sup>1</sup> were sent to Ceylon. They were:-

Prasudanta Mestri<sup>2</sup>

Luvang Si Sneho<sup>3</sup>

Kung Vācāpirong,<sup>4</sup>

Kung Mahāpong,

Kung Ratna Vicin.<sup>5</sup>

Syāmapasampadā Vata states that only three Siamese ministers arrived in Ceylon.<sup>6</sup> However the Syāmavarṇana and Vilbagedara's account give five names of Siamese ministers who arrived in Ceylon so that with regard to the number of ministers a considerable dispute has arisen.

It will be explained subsequently that the Siamese ship was damaged on the way and therefore Luvang Si Sneho

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1. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.
  2. 'Misri', CHJSS. Vol. I, No. 1. (Dr. P.E.E. Fernando).
  3. 'Senega' " " " " " " " " " "
  4. 'Vanca Perong' " " " " " " " " " "
  5. 'Ratna Civit' " " " " " " " " " "
  6. p. 36. Rāja dūta, Upa dūta and Tṛtīya dūta (Ed. Prañātīśya).

might have returned to Siam without coming with the mission. Saṅgharāja Sādhucariya<sup>1</sup> mentions that a Siamese minister was ordained and graduated to the higher ordination in Ceylon. If this is correct the number of ministers who returned to Siam must be three and therefore the account by the author of Syāmpodampadā Vata would be quite correct.

The Siamese mission that was sent to Ceylon was fairly large. It consisted of seventy-four persons including twenty-five monks and five ministers. The others were their servants. They, together with the Sinhalese delegates set forth from Ayuthya with great pomp and magnificence. Vibhāgedara Rāla who had been in Siam since his previous visit sailed in a Siamese ship with the Siamese mission, but the Sinhalese mission led by Paṭṭapola Mohoṭṭala came in the Dutch ship.<sup>2</sup>

#### The death of Paṭṭapola.

The Siamese King was so pleased that he followed the delegates for a certain distance before returning to his capital.<sup>3</sup> The two ships sailed down the river. Meantime Paṭṭapola Mohoṭṭala who was in the Dutch ship died

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1. p. 14.

2. Ms. Vibhāgedara's account

3. Syāmaparṇana. 528.

and his body was taken to the Siamese ship where a short paṇsukūla ceremony was held in honour of him.<sup>1</sup> At a place called Pakathon his body was cremated after a short religious ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

#### A dispute

When the cremation of Paṭṭapola was over it was found that he had left a great fortune in the ship which tempted the mind of a Gaṇinnāṇse named Nattaṃburē who went to Siam with the previous mission. He claimed the property but it was not given to him. He then said that the gifts sent to Siam belonged to him and asked for them. Even that was not granted. Then Nattaṃburē became so indignant that he attacked the bhikkhu Āryamuni, one of the delegates from Siam and a Siamese novice.<sup>3</sup>

The Siamese monks were frightened by this behaviour and said they were reluctant to go to Ceylon. When this was brought to the notice of the Siamese King he ordered Nattaṃburē to remain in Siam and consequently the other bhikkhus started their journey.<sup>4</sup>

#### A disaster.

Of the two ships that sailed forth through the Bay

- 
1. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.
  2. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.
  3. Ms. Kuṣṣalakriyānusandesaṃsaya.
  4. Ibid.



through the Bay of Siam only the Dutch vessel was able to reach Batavia. As water began to leak into the Siamese ship on the way, it was directed to Muanlakon where all the inmates together with their property were saved from the impending disaster.<sup>1</sup> Munkoṭṭuve Rāla describes the incident thus:-

It sailed well on the ocean for seven days  
The ship with ropes and mast sprang a leak;  
Then the ship filled with water,  
The monks and laymen were frightened.

Those who were in the ship remembered gods,  
They prayed to the gods to bring them hither;  
When they observed the eight precepts,  
The ship floated safely to the city of Pālalup.<sup>2</sup>

The city of Pālalup, mentioned here is not identical with Aśoka's capital. It was a city in Lugora,<sup>3</sup> in the south of Siam. In this city of Pāṭalīputra, there was a dāgāba which resembled the Ruvanvāli dāgāba<sup>4</sup> at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon. It was said to have been built by a King called Śrī Dharmāsoka of Siam.<sup>5</sup> A bō-tree that was

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1. Ibid.

2. SV. vv. 147, 149.

3. A province in lower Siam.

4. Its present name is 'Rankot Dāgāba'.

5. Ms. Kuśalakriyānusandēśaya.

taken from Anurādhapura was planted there by the same king.

Again in Siam.

A report of this disaster was sent to the Siamese king through the chief monk called Prācinnarot of Pāṭalīputra. Subsequently the king ordered that the ship should be repaired and returned to Siam. The ship was repaired accordingly and sailed back to Ayuthya together with its inmates.<sup>1</sup> As a result Vilbāgedara Rāla had to go back to Siam while his fellow delegates were awaiting him impatiently in Batavia.<sup>2</sup>

Vilbāgedara's courage.

Vilbāgedara interviewed the Siamese king and explained what had occurred on the way. The king advised him not to be worried over his loneliness and failure to take monks to Ceylon. He further said that he would leave no stone unturned to fulfil his promise.<sup>3</sup> Vilbāgedara who was a person of rare calibre was not moved or shaken by the foregoing events. He went to the Dutch Fort and after consulting the Dutch officers, he was able to get a ship that was to start from a harbour called Mergui.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

2. Syāma Varṇanā.

3. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

4. A small port on the western coast of Siam.

### Another calamity

In the meantime news reached Siam of a disastrous storm which broke out in the Bay of Bengal near Mergui and caused tremendous damage to ships loaded with elephants which were sailing towards Sinnapaṭṭam in India. It not only shocked the Siamese Government, but shattered Vilbāgedara's plan to bring the bhikkhus to Ceylon. In addition to this calamity the Crown Prince of Siam died. The Siamese king found himself in a helpless situation, but Vilbāgedara Rāla was not perturbed.<sup>1</sup>

### A dream

While the Siamese king was grieving over the situation he was confronted with, Vilbāgedara made every possible attempt to bring the mission to Ceylon. He describes that one night he dreamt thus:-

"He drove a herd of elephants to a paddy field which had been harvested. There he saw Paḍikkāra Mohaṭṭala coming with his brother to meet Vilbāgedara Rāla. When both of them approached him with their head-gear removed he saw a swarm of leaches climbing up

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1. Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

his legs".<sup>1</sup> When Vilbāgedara saw this dream he was sure that his attempt would be successful.

### Homeward journey

Two days later Vilbāgedara Rāla consulted Nicholas Barn and Martinus who were captains of the Dutch navy. This resulted in an arrangement to take the mission on board the Dutch vessel "Seceli".<sup>2</sup> They started off from Vat Prasāt Vihāra. Sailing down the Siam river the ship arrived at Rājavāpi where the Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera and the laymen boarded the ship. After a safe journey it reached Batavia.<sup>3</sup>

Since "Seceli" appeared to be unsuited for such a long sea voyage, a strong ship named 'Oscobel' was obtained from the Dutch Government at Batavia and the Siamese mission including Vilbāgedara Rāla was despatched in it. The Sinhalese mission which had arrived earlier at Batavia had been sent to Colombo on board another ship. The Sinhalese delegates landed at Colombo and hurried to Kandy to inform the king of the arrival of the Siamese mission

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1. JRAS.(CB) Vol. XVIII p.44.

2. 'Sisiliya' Ms. Vilbāgedara's account.

3. Ibid.

at Trincomalee.<sup>1</sup>

Establishment of Upasampadā

The Maha Adikārma of Ahālēpola went to Trincomalee to receive the Siamese mission and conducted the delegates to Kandy.<sup>2</sup> The Siamese monks were housed at Malvatta and their ministers in the rest house at Bōgambara. According to Syāmapasampadāvata, at the Upasampadā ceremony a Siamese novice, who was a pupil of Upālī Thera was given the higher Ordination at first, whereas Saṅgharājasādhucariyā states that a Siamese minister was conducted in procession to Malvatta temple and ordained.<sup>3</sup> Of these two records the first should be true, as Śrī Siddhārtha Buddharakkhita,<sup>4</sup> the author of Syāmapasampadāvata, was one of the five novices who received Upasampadā the next day. After the ordination of the Siamese novice, on the following day which is said to be the full moon day of the month of Āsaḷa the Upasampadā ceremony of Sinhalese novices was held.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently at a magnificent function, gifts and messages sent by the Siamese king were ceremonially presented to the king of Ceylon. King Kīrtiśrī Rājasīṅha who received

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1. SSC. p. 13.
  2. SUV. p. 36.
  3. SSC. p. 14.
  4. See Ch. XVI.
  5. SSC. p. 14.

these from the Siamese ministers was so delighted that he took two books on the Buddhist doctrine, presented by the Siamese king in a great procession.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Upāli Thera, in a letter to the Dutch Governor of Batavia sent through Marthan Rhyne, the Dutch Ambassador, thanked him for the assistance he had given to enable the Siamese monks to come to Ceylon. In his reply to Upāli Thera the Dutch Governor mentioned that he only discharged his duty as a mark of respect to the king of Kandy. He further stated that he was ready to do so even in the future.<sup>2</sup>

#### Religious Services of the Siamese Monks:

Each day the Siamese monks ordained the pious ones (silvat) and conferred Upasampadā on the novices. Thus they improved the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Mahānāma Thera, one of them, taught the Sinhalese monks the Vipassanā bhāvana.\* Brahmajoti trained them in methods of Chanting.<sup>4</sup> They travelled in the hill country and finding that there was no pure Buddhists in Ceylon they established Halls of confession at twenty temples, including Malvatta and Asgiriya.

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1. Syāma Varṇanā p. 35.

2. Photostat copy. Library of Govt. Archivist (Nuwara Eliya).

3. SSC. p. 15.

4. Ms. Kuśalakriyānusandesaya.

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\* Vipassana Bhavana is the improvement of Insight by recollecting three signs anicca, dukkha and anattā.

In their travels they had the opportunity of visiting the important Buddhist shrines at Anurādhapura, where they remained for some time.<sup>1</sup>

Return of Siamese Ministers.

After a brief stay in Kandy the Siamese ministers informed King Kīrti Śrī of their desire to go home. The king gave them valuable gifts to be taken to the king and the crown prince of Siam. Among these were a replica of the Tooth Relic, an image of the Buddha studded with beautiful gems and some offerings for the foot print on mount Saṁcābaddha.<sup>2</sup> Some Sinhalese ministers were provided to accompany the Siamese ministers. The following two stanzas from Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya<sup>3</sup> describe it in brief:-

āgatānaṃ amaccānaṃ  
katvāna bahu saṅgahaṃ  
tassa rājassa dānatthaṃ  
mahagghaṃ ca pahenakaṃ  
datvā sīhalaṅkāmacce  
tatheva puñña sāsanaṃ  
lankindo pūna pesesi  
ayujjha pura muttamaṃ

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1. Ibid.

2. JRAS. (CB) Vol. XXXVI. pp. 98, 99.

3. Ms. Photostat copy.

Having entertained the ministers  
who arrived here,

He gave invaluable gifts  
To be presented to their king.

Having given them to the Sinhalese ministers  
Together with a message of merits,  
The King of Lankā sent them  
Back to the noble city of Ayuthya.

When the Sinhalese delegates accompanied the Siamese ministers to Siam they were welcomed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Siamese Army on behalf of the king and subsequently introduced to the monarch, to whom they respectfully handed over Kīrtisīrī's message which was inscribed on a golden plate. In it a detailed account of the remarkable reception accorded in Ceylon to the Siamese monks headed by Upāli had been given. It further mentioned that those monks conferred Upasampadā on six hundred Sinhalese monks and ordained three thousand novices and requested His Majesty to share the merits of that glorious undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

When the delegates informed Dhārmika, the Siamese monarch, that there was a lack of Buddhist texts in Ceylon,

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1. HMss. C.Report. p.59 (Dr.S.Paraṇavitāna).



he ordered his ministers to send ninety seven manuscripts including Pāli texts, commentaries and grammars. Not only the above mentioned books, but even offerings were sent to the Tooth Relic and the Saṅgharāja. In addition to these books, the Commander-in-Chief of Siam sent a letter<sup>1</sup> to the Ceylonese King on behalf of Dhārmika in which he gave a lengthy description of how their king received the gifts and shared the merits of Upasampadā.

Mention was made by him of how their king was ordained and graduated to the higher ordination and he requested the king of Ceylon to enjoy the merits thus accumulated by the Siamese king. As a mark of gratitude, the Siamese king sent presents to the Dutch Officers both at Batavia and Trincomalee. The Siamese ministers who returned to Siam reported to their king that since the Ceylonese Buddhists entered the Buddhist shrines with their head-gear on, it had become entirely impossible for Upāli Thera to introduce proper Buddhist practices into Ceylon. According to their report those who obstructed Upāli Thera in his religious campaign were ignorant folk and the Brahmins. They therefore made a special request that he should send to Ceylon some Dhamma books dealing with ethics for the Buddhist

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1. JRAS.(CB) Vol.XXXVI pp. 90-99.

laity.<sup>1</sup>

They further stated that they had seen an image made on the orders of the Ceylonese king, which had been richly embedded with gems and embellished with other ornaments. They had been told that it was so made in accordance with a description given in Jambupativatthu, a book sent from Siam.<sup>2</sup>

The first Sinhalese mission that went to Siam saw an image called "Buddha Sihīṅga" at Paramabodhārāma in Siam. It has been said that when they expressed their desire to know why it was named 'Buddha Sihīṅga' they were given a book entitled 'Sihīṅga Buddha Nidāna'.<sup>3</sup> Although this book was unknown in Ceylon, that Sihīṅga Buddha was the image which had been taken from Ceylon to Siam in the 13th century.<sup>4</sup>

#### Second Siamese Mission

Three years after the arrival of the Siamese monks led by Upāli, another group of monks from Siam came to Ceylon. This consisted of twelve theeras, nine novices including Visuddhācāriya, Varāṇāṇamuni, Candasāra, Indajoti and Suvannajoti.<sup>5</sup> When their ship was sailing towards

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1. H.Mss.C.Report. p.59.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. An account has been given earlier in this chapter.

5. SSC.p.16.

Ceylon it was wrecked near Arugambe on the eastern coast of Ceylon; eight Siamese monks, four Theras and four novices died in this disaster. Those who survived stayed in Magul Mahā Vihara at Lāhugala and sent a message to king Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṃha. Campaha Adikārama was sent by the king and he conducted them along Bintānna to Kandy.<sup>1</sup>

#### Return of Siamese Monks.

No sooner had the second mission of Siamese monks arrived in Ceylon than some of the monks who had come with the first mission wished to go home.<sup>2</sup> When the king was made aware of this he readily gave his consent. Both the king and the Saṅgharāja followed them for a certain distance as a mark of respect. Visuddhācariya and Varaṇāpamuni resided at Kandy and engaged themselves in religious affairs in the city. In a message sent from Siam the Ceylonese King was asked that the Siamese bhikkhus including Upāli should be allowed to return to Siam or to stay on if they desired to live in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Four years after the arrival of the first mission some other Siamese monks left Ceylon for Siam. Those who remained in Ceylon found that the climate in the Kandyan Province was not suitable for them and therefore went to live in other places in the Island.<sup>4</sup>

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1. H.Mss.C.Report.p.60.
  2. Ms.Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya.
  3. H.Mss.C.Report p.60.
  4. Ibid.

The Siamese monks of the first mission had instructed the Sinhalese to chant Suttās without breaking words, whereas those of the second taught them to chant by breaking words. Saramāṅkara Saṅgharāja advised his followers to adopt the second method.<sup>1</sup>

### Siamese Influence.

As the Siamese monks came to Ceylon and established Upasampadā Ceylon and Siam became culturally inter-related. The manuscripts that were brought to Ceylon from Siam were in Cambodian characters.<sup>2</sup> Since the Sinhalese monks were unable to decipher them, Visuddhācāriya and Varāṇāṇamuni were appointed to teach them the Cambodian alphabet and the Dhamma. All the young monks were ordered to learn them immediately after the Upasampadā under the guidance of these two monks.

"Of those Ceylonese monks  
Some, endowed with virtues,  
Under the Elder called  
Visuddhācāriya  
Learned vipassanā,  
The path to Nibbāna.

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1. H.Mss.C.Report p. 60.
  2. Ms.Malvatuyihāra Rājāvaliya.

Some under Varāṇamuni  
 The second Elder,  
 Learned Dhamma and Vinaya  
 Together with etymology."<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing stanzas show that the Sinhalese monks learned the system of Vipassanā Bhāvanā under Visuddhācariya and Dhamma and Vinaya with etymology under Varāṇamuni. As a result the Sinhalese monks became well versed in the Siamese and Cambodian languages. Muṅkoṭṭuve Rāla states it as follows:-

Some preached Dhamma in Sinhalese,  
 Some explained Dhamma in Pāli,  
 Some knew the Sanskrit language,  
 Some knew the languages of Siam and  
 Cambodia.<sup>2</sup>

During that time the Sinhalese monks chanted the paritta sutta after the Siamese way. The system of Vipassanā Bhāvanā that had disappeared from Asgiriya was given a new life by the Siamese monks.<sup>3</sup> As a result Siam and Ceylon became culturally so inter-connected that both countries were considered as one.

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1. CV.Ch.63.
  2. Moratōṭa Vata p. 125.
  3. SSC. p. 16.

End of the Relation.

The cultural relation thus established between these two countries did not last long. The main cause of this was the conspiracy<sup>1</sup> against Kīrtiśrī Rājasīṃha, the King of Kandy. It is mentioned both in Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya<sup>2</sup> and Kuśalakriyānusandēśaya that a third Siamese mission consisting of monks and laymen came to Ceylon. Some monks of Malvatu Vihāra and Sinhalese Adigars, who disliked Kīrtiśrī Rājasīṃha as he applied ash on his forehead, conspired to put him to death and to enthrone a Siamese prince who came here in the guise of a monk in the third mission. But the conspiracy ended in utter failure. When their plot was revealed to the King he punished the conspirators and drove away the Siamese monks from Kandy.<sup>3</sup> This must undoubtedly have been the end of relations between Siam and Ceylon.

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1. SAV.p.24.
  2. Ms.Photostat Copy.
  3. See Ch. XII.

CHAPTER XThe Life of Sapaṇkara SaṅgharājaBirth

It has been explained earlier how the 16th century A.C. became a dangerous era for Buddhism in Ceylon. During this time Buddhism was attacked time and again by Rājasiṅha I who was converted to Hinduism in order to free him from patricidal sin and then by the Andhra priests who were installed in the hill country by Rājasiṅha I and finally by the Portuguese who ruled the maritime provinces.<sup>1</sup> Although Vimaladharmasūrya I and II endeavoured to fan the flickering flames of Buddhism they could not revive them. Deterioration was so great that there was no quorum of Upasampadā monks in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Although Tumpanē has been famous as a paradise of fools in Ceylon, Vālivīṭa, situated in the heart of it, became the cradle of one of the wisest men who enlightened the whole island in the latter part of the 18th century. In other words, Vālivīṭa Sapaṇkara was born to the family of Kulatuṅga in Vālivīṭa of Tumpanē in 1698 A.C.<sup>3</sup> Muṅkoṭuve Rāla describes it thus:-

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1. See Ch. III

2. See Ch. II

3. SUV. p.33

In one thousand six hundred  
 and twentieth year of the Saka era,  
 On the seventh of Uturupuṭupa constellation  
 of the waning half of the month of Poson,  
 In Vālivīṭa of Tumpanē  
 He was born as a son  
 To a Mudaliyar of farmer caste,  
 And played about in his childhood.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with this, his date of birth can be considered as the 19th of June, 1698 A.C. His father was a Mudaliyar of the farmer caste. The elder brother was Kulatuṅga, promoted to the rank of Paṭabāṇḍi Mudiyanse. As one of the ancestors of this aristocratic family had held the Disāve post of Vellassa and Tumpanē, it had won a place of pride in the country at that time.<sup>2</sup> Nothing has been mentioned of his mother, so that it is apparent that she was not an important woman.

It is well known that young Kulatuṅga spent most of his childhood in the palace of Kandy with his brother who was employed there, and was adopted by the king.<sup>3</sup>

The parents had an earnest desire to make Kulatuṅga a royal officer. But when he grew up both in age and intellig-

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1. SRV. vv. 72, 74.

2. SSC. p.1.

3. It has been said that young Kulatuṅga received his primary education from Muruddepiye Gurunnāse and Eramuduliyadde Upāsaka Rāla.



ence he desired something else. From his very childhood he observed the five precepts daily and the eight precepts on full moon days.<sup>1</sup> As he was engaged in meritorious deeds he had no attachment to worldly pleasures. As he grew up the hopes of his parents gradually began to fade away, and consequently he was able to obtain their consent to enter the Order in his 16th year.<sup>2</sup>

#### Ordination:

In the reign of Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha of Senkaḍagala, young Kulatuṅga was ordained by the Novice Sūriyagoḍa in the Sūriyagoḍa vihāra.<sup>3</sup>

The Sūriyagoḍa temple where Sarapaṅkara was ordained was situated at Yaṭṭinuvara of Gaṅgapalāta, now known as Narendrārāmaya. Saddharmālaṅkāraya refers to this as the temple of Kaḍaroddāgama which was time and again used by the arhats from the time of Devānampiyatissa and had become a sacred place.<sup>4</sup> During the reign of Kurupāgala and Gampola kings two great prelates, Vanarāja Yāpa and Abhayarāja of Arandara resided in this vihāra. Śrī Parākrama VI of Kōṭṭe built an image house here at the request of his teacher

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1. SSC. p.3.

2. SRV. v.76.

3. SSC. p.2.

4. Tambasumana Vastu.

Attanāyake Senarat Mudaliñḍu.<sup>1</sup> At that time, Kitsirimevan Rājasundara Thera was the incumbent of the temple. In the reigns of Vimaladharmasūrya I and II this temple was administered respectively by the two elders Kitsirimevan Rājasundara of Vāgama and Kitsirimevan Rājasundara of Eḍaṇḍuvāve.

Kitsirimevan Rājasundara Thera of Sūriyagoḍa was a distinguished member of this lineage. He was one of those who received higher ordination (upasampadā) from the Rakkhaṅga monks in the time of Vimaladharmasūrya II. But it appears that he disavowed his Upasampadā and became sāmaṇera later. According to one of the Saṅgharāja's letters published by Sir D.B. Jayatilaka his teacher is said to have been Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera.<sup>2</sup> Although Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyā states<sup>3</sup> that the Saṅgharāja's teacher was the Mahā Thera of Sūriyagoḍa, the author of Saṅgarajavata appears to have been reluctant to mention the name of his teacher. The stanza:-

A thought like this occurred to him,  
That he could not obtain virtuous monks;  
At the age of sixteen,  
With a delightful mind he ordained himself.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sūriyagoḍa Ṣannasa.

2. See Appendix No.3.

3. p.2.

4. SRV. v.76.

reveals that as there was no virtuous monk available he ordained himself. But the saṅgharāja's letter which can be regarded as a reliable testimony, proves that the opinion held by the author of Saṅgarājavata is invalid.

Although his teacher was called Vihāregedara Kitsirimevan Rājasundara of Sūriyagoḍa, the young novice identified himself by the ecclesiastical name Vālivīṭa Sarapaṅkara.<sup>1</sup> When Sarapaṅkara was 23 years old his teacher was killed by Viraparākrama who suspected that he (the teacher) was involved in the murder of Gascon. The king handed over the property that belonged to Sūriyagoḍa Vihāre to Uḍapola Appu and imprisoned Sarapaṅkara's teacher's relations in Bintānna of the ūva Province.<sup>2</sup> As his teacher was no more, Sarapaṅkara became helpless. But Malvatuvihārarājāvaliya<sup>3</sup> points out that Sarapaṅkara was so dissatisfied with the corrupt monastic principles prevalent at that time, that he left the teacher to follow the proper religious path.

The monks at that time did not follow the ecclesiastical practices as laid down in the Vinaya rules and therefore had given up begging and the use of the bowl.<sup>4</sup> Some monks

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1. SSC. p.2.

2. See Appendix No.3.

3. Ms. This is seen in the National Museum of Austria, Vienna.

A Photo Stat copy is in the possession of K.Wāchissara Thera.

4. See Ch.IV.

despised these practices. Sarapaṅkara was helpless but was so attached to religious customs that he lived by begging and used the bowl in taking food. Because of this peaceful revolution carried on by him in a slow and steady way he was re-named 'Piṇḍapāṅka Sarapaṅkara'. He did not like to associate himself with the corrupt monks who employed themselves as physicians, astrologers, exorcists, etc. but lived a solitary life. This has been described by Muṅkoṭuve Rāla as follows:-

The other monks do things  
Which are improper for monks;  
Without being mixed with them  
He lived as a lonely lion.  
They drive away demons,  
And know medicine and astrology;  
They looked after their relatives,  
It is useless for me to associate with them.<sup>1</sup>

When Sarapaṅkara grew up both in age and wisdom he saw the low levels to which corrupt monks had sunk and realised that there were no genuine monks in the Island. He was not disappointed at this, but strove forth and became impatient in laying the foundation of a brighter future.

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1. SRV. vv. 80, 81.

Education:

Sarapaṅkara realised that one must not only have a profound knowledge of the Doctrine but should practice the religious principles before one could preach it to others. He knew the value of learning Pāli including its grammar in order to achieve this end. Therefore, he searched for a teacher who was well versed in it. It was difficult to find such a person in that dark age. However, he was successful; he found out a teacher, who was not a Buddhist monk but a layman called Levuke Rālahāmy. He was a nephew of Eḍaṇḍuvāve Disāva who had studied Bālāvatāra up to the end of the chapter on nouns under Vaṭabuluve Mahā Thera of Pōyamalu Vihāre.<sup>1</sup> Levuke Rālahāmy, who was nicknamed Vihāre Rālahāmy, was well versed in the same portion of Bālāvatāra as Eḍaṇḍuvāve knew. But at this time Levuke Rālahāmy was beyond Sarapaṅkara's approach. He was imprisoned at Mākehelvala.<sup>2</sup>

It was explained earlier how the novice Sūriyagoḍa was suspected over the death of Gascon and was killed by the king. It was Levuke who beheaded Gascon.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, one can imagine why he was imprisoned at Mākehelvala. Sarapaṅkara knew that it was too dangerous to associate with a person

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1. SSC. p.3.

2. Ibid. A village in the Kāgalle District.

3. See Ch. XVIII.

like Levuke, for the king always suspected those who had contacts with his prisoners.

However, Sarapaṅkara played this dangerous game. He, accompanied by an acolyte, went to Alagalla and took residence in a cave under a mango tree in the vicinity of the prison at Mākehelvala.<sup>1</sup> His thirst for the Doctrine was greater than that for grammar. At first he learned Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta from Levuke, when the latter was going to Alagalla Vihāra. Although Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna<sup>2</sup> is a rather difficult sutta for a beginner Sarapaṅkara decided to learn it as it was one of the most popular suttas among the Sinhalese Buddhists.

As begging was unknown to the villagers, they brought alms in a bowl and gave it to the novice. There was neither slate nor paper and pencil to write down what he learned so that he wrote whatever he studied from the teacher on a bed of sand laid out on a plank or stage and memorised it.<sup>3</sup> At this time he was met by another mendicant called Siṭṭināmaluve,<sup>4</sup> a celibate from the South, who joined him for the same purpose. Sarapaṅkara without informing his teacher taught what he learned from him to Siṭṭināmaluve. When he completed the

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1. SSC. p.3.  
 2. DN. Mahā Vagga  
 3. SSC. p.4.  
 4. See Ch. XVIII

relevant portion of Bālāvatāra, which was known to Levuke he went to Palkuṃbure Atthadassi<sup>1</sup> who knew the other part of it.

The novice Atthadassi was a pupil of the Vaṭabuluve Mahā Thera who was one of the monks who received Upasampadā from the Rakkhaṅga bhikkhus in the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya II. He had mastered the Pāli language and grammar. His pupil, Atthadassi, had learned the latter part of Bālāvatāra (i.e. from the chapter on nouns to the end). He willingly taught that to Sarapaṅkara. But he did not know the art of constructing Pāli words (Morphology). Therefore, Sarapaṅkara had to learn it by himself with the help of a paraphrase of Bālāvatāra.<sup>2</sup>

At the very beginning of his career Sarapaṅkara had two companions. The chief of them was Siṭṭināmaluve (the pious one) who learned the Bālāvatāra from him at Alagalla. The second was Ilupāṅganuva<sup>3</sup> who was also a pious one (Silvata). Sarapaṅkara imparted freely his knowledge of the Dhamma and Pāli to them and automatically they became his chief disciples. Kadirāgoḍa was the third pious one to join them to learn the Dhamma. Sarapaṅkara knew that the group was now quite sufficient to commence his religious and literary campaign.

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1. Ibid.

2. SSC. p.4.

3. See Ch. XIII.

Therefore, with the help of his three disciples he started to collect manuscripts and preach the Dhamma to lay devotees.<sup>1</sup>

### Travel:

This campaign was very successful and the fame of Sarapaṅkara and his disciples spread through the length and breadth of the Island. Invitations to preach the Dhamma flowed from various parts of the country. Sarapaṅkara accepted one such invitation which came from the devotees of Kanukāṭigedara of the Sat Kōrale and he went there accompanied by Siṭṭināmaluve and Ilupāngamuve. When the ceremony was over he gave the bamboo of his palanquin to the devotees to polish ola leaves.<sup>2</sup> On their way they entered the Raja Mahā Vihāra of Nārammala and finding that there was no one worthy of respect in the temple they worshipped the dāgāba in the vihāra.<sup>3</sup> That particular dāgāba enshrined the bowl of Maliyadeva who is supposed to be the last of the Arhats in Ceylon.<sup>4</sup>

### Fasting:

Sarapaṅkara and his companions lived on food begged by them. When they went to a village in Seven Kōrales to beg food the villagers could not understand why they came and gave no alms.<sup>5</sup>

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1. SSC. p.4.

2. Ibid.

3. SSC. p.5.

4. Sālalihipi Sandesaya

5. SSC. p.5.



The proper bowl was given up,  
 And a plate was taken instead.  
 The monks gave up begging  
 And ate food cooked by temple women.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing stanza by Muṅkoṭuva gives a true picture of the bhikkhu's ways of life at that time. They employed women in their temples to cook their food and never went round for alms. Consequently the people were ignorant of the monastic practice of begging. Conditions were such at that time that the novices who went for alms had to return with empty bowls. But later a devotee who was a brother of Ginigatpitiye<sup>2</sup> gave instructions to the people and accordingly they brought alms to the temple where the novices resided. They did not partake of it, and observed fasting. It is said that this incident took place at Nārammala.

The particular devotee was intelligent enough to understand why the novices were reluctant to take such food. He therefore went to the villagers before the monks and advised them that the food they offered should be placed inside the bowls of the visiting novices.<sup>3</sup>

This devotee was a pupil of Pānnātiḡoḡa Veda Adikāri

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1. SRV. v.55.  
 2. See Ch. XV.  
 3. SSC. p.5.

Rāla who had studied under a pious one called Kahawatte.<sup>1</sup> While in Sat Kōrale Vālivīṭṭa Sāmapera spent most of his time in the vihāras of Algama and Vatukena. Rāmbukvālle Siddhārtha Thera says that the palanquin in which he travelled is still to be seen in the Algama Vihāra. Starting from the Sat Korale these celibates roamed in the Uḍapola Kōrale and Satara Kōrale. Many a faithful one joined them to become celibates.<sup>2</sup>

Silvat Samāgama (Company of pious ones):

Thus the Pious sect of mendicants founded by Vālivīṭṭa Sāmapera came to be known as the "VALIVIṬṬA SECT" whilst a member of the sect came to be known as "Silvat Tāna" (meaning, the one who observes the precepts). These celibates robed themselves in dyed or white clothing. The unordained bhikkhus of the Asgiriya and Pōyamaluva vihāras were known as "Sāmaperas".<sup>3</sup> Although Vālivīṭṭa Saraṇaṅkara was the leader of the celibates, he himself was a Sāmapera who entered the order under the tutorship of Sūriyagoḍa Thera. Since they had not entered the order under the tutorship of any Theras<sup>4</sup> they were generally treated with contempt by the Chief Sāmaperas of Asgiriya and Pōyamalu. They nicknamed the sect of Vālivīṭṭa novice as the "Vālivīṭṭa Unnānsēge Samāgama".

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1. SSC. p.5.

2. Ibid.

3. It appears that during this time the Buddhist clergy was divided into three categories - Silvat tāns, Sāmaperas and Theras. Hulangamuve was the only Thera who lived at this time.

4. SSC. p.28.

### Popularity:

The members of the Vālivīṭṭa Samāgama ignored the ill treatment meted out to them by those immoral Sāmaṇeras and proceeded further in the sphere of education by teaching the laymen such texts as the alphabet and Anavum Sakaskaḍa, and the celibates the Sekhiyā<sup>1</sup> and Dinacariyā.<sup>2</sup> The more religious pupils of the Gaṇanāyaka Sāmaṇeras of the two Vihāres of Asgiriya and Pōyamalu also joined the "Vālivīṭṭa Samāgama" later with the idea of learning phonetics and grammar. Among them were Sāmaṇeras who hailed from the villages of Kappāgoḍa, Nāgolla, Alutnuvara, Mādavela, Kuṃbaldivela, Vāvagedara, Ahugōḍa, Pahankuṃbura, Dāhigamuva and Mālagammāna including Isipīṭṭiye Sāmaṇera, the pupil of Vaṭṭabuluve Mahā Thera.<sup>3</sup> Their joining the "Vālivīṭṭa Sect" aroused the jealousy of the Gaṇanāyakas of the two temples.

### Growth of the Samāgama:

Thereafter, the "Silvat Samāgama" of the Vālivīṭṭa Sāmaṇera gradually grew large in size as very many people joined it. Some became celibates at his feet. Although kinship was a necessary condition for admission to the order during this period, he ignored it. He completely cast aside

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1. Pātimokkha.

2. A book dealing with daily routine of Novices.

3. SSC. p.5.

the caste differences and gave priority to morality and service to others. It was on account of these high ideals that his efforts produced the desired results.<sup>1</sup> Under the guidance and kind advice of the novice Vālivīṭa, his pupils were well disciplined and united, and thereby won the hearts of the people.

Opposition from leading temples:

When the "Silvat Sect" became so popular the jealousy of the Gaṇanāyakas of the two Vihāras "Asgiriya" and "Pōyamalu" knew no bounds.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, none from among the "Silvat Sect" respected any Sāmaṇeras from the two temples, and they did not even sit with the latter for alms. This was done on account of the fact that there was a regulation observed by the "Silvat Sect" which forbade them to respect the Sāmaṇeras as they were considered to be immoral. Moreover, the campaign of the "Silvat Samāgama" was looked upon with disfavour by the Sāmaṇeras of the two temples viz. Asgiriya and Pōyamalu.<sup>3</sup>

The situation being such, the Sāmaṇera Gaṇanāyakas of the two Vihāras, approached King Viraparākrama and made allegations against the "Silver Sect" out of sheer jealousy. They complained that the members of the "Silvat Sect" did not

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1. See Ch. XVII.

2. SSC. p.6.

3. Ibid.

respect them and sit together with them for alms. They insisted that this was a dangerous state of affairs.<sup>1</sup> At that time the Gaṇanāyaka of the Pōyamalu Vihāra was Kobbākaḍuve Gaṇēbaṇḍāra. He was a powerful personage of the times and had obtained for himself from King Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha the Disāve post of Puttalam and the Basnāyaka post of the Four Devālas of Udunuvāra.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the king should have given him a careful hearing. At that time Vālivīṭa Sāmaṇera was residing with his pupils in a wood in Damuṇumāya close to Haṅguranketa.<sup>3</sup> King Narendrasīṃha then summoned the Sāmaṇera Nāyakas of the two Vihāras and also Vālivīṭa Sāmaṇera together with his pupils to the Royal Assembly Hall in Haṅguranketa.<sup>4</sup>

#### Expulsion:

King Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha was a playful king and had no religious knowledge of background. He had a liking for Christianity more than for Buddhism. His counsellors were not Buddhist monks but Catholic priests such as Rev. Gonzalvez.<sup>5</sup> Therefore he would not have attached any importance to the judgement he was to deliver. He questioned the "Silvat Tāns" as to why they refrained from respecting the sāmaṇeras and ordered them to respect them and also to wear a white band

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1. SSC. p.6.

2. C.A. Vol.I part 11, p.121.

3. SSC. p.6.

4. Ibid.

5. See Ch. I.

round their bald heads to distinguish themselves from the Sāmaṇeras.<sup>1</sup> Although it is stated in the Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyā that the king, out of respect for Sarapaṅkara Sāmanera, protected the Silvat Samāgama, we have to get outside of that theory. He had instead humiliated and disgraced the Silvat Samāgama and Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera by ordering them to wear a white band round their heads. The king did not stop with these acts but expelled Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera and the "Silvat Tāns" to Laggala.<sup>2</sup> Referring to the expulsion of Sarapaṅkara, Father Gonzalvaz states that this was done because he worked against the Catholics.<sup>3</sup> However, the reason for expulsion was none other than the opposition from the two leading Vihāras. After this punishment the Silvat Sect, confined themselves to the rural areas but they carried on their good work.

Favours from the King:

While the Vālivīṭa Samāgama was in hiding in this manner a certain Brahmin came to Kandy from India via Anurādhapura. Hearing that an Ordained Bhikkhu has arrived from abroad, the king brought him down to Haṅguranketa to live there. He conversed in Sanskrit. The king ordered Ranmolavaka

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1. SS8. P.6.

2. A mountainous area in the Nātale District.

3. LFJG. p.104.

Adigār to bring the Sāmaperas and the two Gapañāyakes of Asgiriya and Pōyamalu Vihāras to interpret to him what the Brahmin said.<sup>1</sup> Although Ranmolavaka, the Chief Adigari, was reported to be an exponent of Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> he could not comprehend what the Brahmin said. The Brahmin ridiculed them by reciting this stanza:-

vidvāneva vijānāti  
 vidvajjana pariśramam  
 nahi vandhyā vijānāti  
 gurviṃ praśava vedanām<sup>3</sup>

Only the learned knows  
 The efforts of the learned,  
 The barren woman never realises  
 The grave pains of labour.

None present there could comprehend this stanza. Although it is stated in the Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyā that Sarapaṅkara was present there, we cannot accept this view. Sarapaṅkara Sāmanera heard about the Brahmin and the stanza he recited and explained to his pupils its meaning and the humiliation he intended. The Brahmin was learned and eloquent but he knew nothing of Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> He pretended to speak with a knowledge

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1. SSC. p.7.

2. See Ch. XVIII.

3. Appaṇṇa Dīkṣita - Kuvalāyānanda.

4. SSC. p.7.

of Buddhism, but there was none in the Vihāras who could prove that he uttered nonsense without knowing the Buddhist Doctrine. The king sent word to the Sāmaneras of the two temples to preach the Buddhist Doctrine to the Brahmin. The Nāyaka Sāmaneras on receiving the invitation went there and out of fear and shyness covered their faces with their fans. When the king came to know this he went on looking for some person who could preach the doctrine to the Brahmin. As he was informed by Palīpāna Mohettāla that Vālivīṭṭha Sāmaṇera was capable of this, a message was sent to him.<sup>1</sup>

Vālivīṭṭha Sāmaṇera got an opportunity at last. He went before the king and having obtained permission from his tutor, Palkuṃbure Atthadassi,<sup>2</sup> preached the doctrine to the Brahmin in the three languages Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhalese. The Brahmin and the others in the audience were extremely delighted. The king was more than pleased. He, at last realised the learning of Vālivīṭṭha Sāmaṇera. King Narendrasīṃha then knew that it was on account of their jealousy that the Sāmaṇeras of the two Vihāras carried tales to him about Vālivīṭṭha novice who was such an exponent of the Dhamma.<sup>3</sup> The Gaṇanāyaka Sāmaṇeras of the two Vihāras fully knew that the king was greatly pleased with Vālivīṭṭha Sāmaṇera and thereafter did not

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1. Ibid.

2. See Ch. XVIII.

3. SSC. p.8.



show him any opposition. After this incident he won the king's heart and ever after his fame spread. Therefore the "Silvat Samāgama" of the Vālivīṭa novice assumed an unassailable position in the Kanda Uḍa Raṭa. The regard which king Narendrasimha had towards Vālivīṭa Sāmapera remained unchanged until the former's death.

## CHAPTER XI

### Principles

Thus Vāliiviṭṭa Saramāṅkara won the heart of the king after twelve years of his entering the order. Since he enjoyed the king's support on the one hand and had no opposition from any Sāmaṇeras of Asgiriya and Pōyamalu Viharas on the other, he now got the opportunity to work in peace for the furtherance of his cause. In order to bring about discipline and unity among the 'Pious Ones' he prepared a code of regulations to be followed by them. It is known as 'Anusāsanā Vaṭṭoruva'<sup>1</sup> and is as follows:-

"The details of the list of admonitions I am now presenting to all the Novices and 'Pious Ones', my beloved pupils who have entered the order of the Blessed One of great compassion, are as follows:-

Birth as human being is rare,  
 Appearance of a Buddha is very rare,  
 Difficult is the achievement of Proper Moment,<sup>2</sup>  
 The Doctrine indeed is very rare.

Having received the ordination  
 Which is rare in the Conqueror's Order,  
 One should observe morality etc.  
 Which is the direct path to purity.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Appendix No. 2. 17-20.

2. "khana" is the Pāli term used to denote the Proper Moment freed from eight-evil moments. See Visākhā Vatthu of the Dhamma paṭaṭṭha Katha.

3. Visuddhi Magga. p.2.

In order to fulfil the conditions pertaining to the entry into the order, as stated above, we have in our mountain resort at Alagalla<sup>1</sup> agreed and decided in accordance with the Dhamma to resist the evils viz. craving, anger, delusion, conceit, pride and ill-will. Although I have had no opportunity to fulfill some aspects of these observances since I am surrounded by many a celibate some sick, young and old and on account of the fact that I strive hard to assist the kings and ministers to work for their advancement during this life and the next, I engage in many meritorious deeds with profound devotion. I have cast aside, according to the Dhamma, all evils that I inherited by birth and by nature. You also should take note of the following without delay:-

The wrongs committed must be discussed on every full moon day. At these discussions everyone must sincerely speak out the truth and on commission of a wrong must inform another closest to him and readily punish oneself in accordance with the directions in the Dhamma. When one sees the fault of another one should not speak of that fault with the intention of ridiculing the other in the presence of others or of humiliating him. Even though one insults another for his fault the latter should not lose his temper but bear up such insult with a calm and compassionate mind as though it were a kind

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1. See Chapter X.

advice. None should carry information to another so as to create dissension between two persons. None should refer to one's caste and creed in reprimanding even a pupil of his; none should do or tell anything whatsoever that will create dissension or a quarrel. One should not spend one's time merry-making and laughing, swollen with the pride of youth. One should be grateful even to the one of least help. If however it is not possible to do so daily, all the celibates residing in one temple should assemble at least on full moon days and engage themselves in discussions pertaining to the Dhamma, with a view to renewing their devotion and to feel disgusted with existence. The teachings of 'Dinacariyā' and 'Sekhiyā' should be practised as hitherto. There should be no slackness in paying respect to the Triple Gem, in learning the Dhamma and in chanting the Pirit text. One should not accept for one's self or on behalf of one's relations anything that is unfit to be received, such as gold and silver. However, if received, such thing should be given for charity. One should not reside in the houses of laymen; and should not cultivate craving. If anyone has committed a breach of any of these rules, which we had agreed to observe earlier, he should confess it, restore his powers of restraint and resolve to abstain from such sinful deed in future. Furthermore, one should not feel disappointed with me but should appreciate the efforts I make

and the services I have been rendering to all others for their benefit in this world and in the next. Some children think ill of their parents. Just as much as parents tolerate such children with patience so do I bear with compassion so that some benefit, and not something unpleasant, shall always result in this world and in the next. Now if at this moment there is anyone angry with any others, he should with smiling face and tears of joy go to them and obtain their pardon with the idea of getting the opportunity to see Maitreya Buddha as admonished by your dear 'Father'. All novices and 'Pious Ones' must make a copy of this list, keep it with them and read it at the end of the sermon preached on every full moon day. If you then live according to the directions I have already given and those contained in this, you will derive benefits in this birth and in the next and ultimately enter the state of 'Nirvāna'.

Furthermore:-

This list of advice was sent by Vāliṇiṭṭa Sarapaṅkara Sāmi who greatly values compassion, on the tenth Friday of the waxing half of the Poson month of the Two Thousand Two Hundred and Ninety Third year of the Buddhist era.<sup>1</sup>

This list of advice illustrates the ideals and qualities of Vāliṇiṭṭa Sarapaṅkara. It will be seen that he was keen on

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1. See Appendix No. 2.

training his pupils strictly in accordance with the Buddhist doctrine and not in the contemporary manners.

It was mentioned earlier that young novices from the two vihāras began to join the 'Vālivīṭa Samāgama'<sup>1</sup> on account of its popularity and educational activities. Most of them joined with the idea of learning grammar and phonetics rather than the Buddhist doctrine. Therefore in his Sect which was known as the 'Sāmapera Silvat Samāgama' the sect of novices and 'Pious Ones', some bhikkhus were trained in various observances<sup>2</sup> such as begging for their alms while others were taught the language and the Doctrine. He however, did not permit the pupils who were unable to go begging for alms, to husk paddy and cook their food in the temples. While roaming in the country they carried with them their manuscripts and styles. The younger members made use of a bed of sand for writing on.<sup>3</sup>

We can believe that the books used today for primary education in pirivenas and temples in Ceylon originated from Vālivīṭa Sāmapera.

Thus while engaged in educating the two sections in the 'Silvat Sāmaperas Sect' he was also roaming in the Four Kōrales and Manda Uḍa Pas Raṭa.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See Chapter X.

2. Dhutāṅgas. Visuddhi Magga. Chapter 2.

3. SSC. p.9.

4. SSC.p.9.

Writing of books:

Although King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha was not a devout Buddhist he was a promoter of literary activities. Therefore, to make use of the knowledge of the novice Vāliṇiṭṭa Sarapaṅkara he requested him to write books. While the Sāmapera was residing in the Pōyamalu Vihāra in Kandy he wrote a voluminous religious book by the name of 'Sārārtha Saṅgrahaya',<sup>1</sup> describing the virtues of the Buddha. Muṅkoṭuve Rāla refers to it thus.-

A valuable book named  
Sārārtha Saṅgraha was written,  
So that it might last  
A long time in this city.<sup>2</sup>

This book which contains the subtle points of the Buddhist doctrine clearly reflects his knowledge of the 'Tri Piṭaka' and contemporary religions.<sup>3</sup> King Narendrasīṃha was highly pleased. He invited Sarapaṅkara to reside in the Vihāra of Kuṇḍasāle. There at the request of the king he wrote a paraphrase to 'Bhesajjamañjūsā',<sup>4</sup> a book which the king had obtained from Vīdāgama. To do this his pupils also helped him. When the book was handed over to the king he was so pleased that he presented him with an elephant. This the novice refused to accept.

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1. See Ch. XVI.

2. V. 100. SRV.

3. See Chapter XVI.

4. See Chapter XVI.

The palanquin which he subsequently received was given by him to Mōrāgammana Mohoṭṭāla.<sup>1</sup> Thus he began writing paraphrases and Abhidhamma books with the hope of pleasing the king and thereby to get his assistance to obtain upasampadā monks from overseas. Being an expert in writing ola leaf books, he wrote more than a hundred books.

Anxiety for Ordination:

Although Sarapaṅkara was learned, wise and by this time a fully matured man of thirty five years he was still unordained (a novice). Many a time he appealed to the King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha to bring down the monks to restore ordination and finally sent a memorandum<sup>2</sup> to the king written in Pāli stanzas which read thus:-

mahārāja pubbe kato te ulāraṃ  
anekaṇṇa puññaṃ susaddhāya buddhe  
karoteva puññaṃ anekampidāni  
karotīca maññe tato āyatimpi

Your Majesty, you have performed many a magnificent  
meritorious deed in the past,  
On account of the faith in the Buddha,  
You continue to do so at present  
Methinks you will do the same in the future too.

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1. SSC. p.10.

2. MS. "Saṅgaraja terage gathādi pota" or 6601 - (Photo stat copy). This has been considered to be written by Vālivita Sarapaṅkara in the 30th year of his age.



ime sāmāperā<sup>1</sup> yadā bhikkubhāve  
 thapemīti asmā yaṇiṃ pesite te  
 adatvāna mayhaṃ baliṃ sāmāperam  
 nademīti yakkho<sup>2</sup> samuddamhi ṭhatvā

If at any time you were to send these sāmāperas,  
 Somewhere with the hope of getting them ordained as monks,  
 And if a demon haunting the sea were to demand,  
 That he would not let them go without sacrificing a  
 sāmāpera.

nivāreti tasmīṃ ime sāmāperā  
 have maṃva datvā baliṃte suganthvā  
 sukhaṃ bhikkubhāvaṃ supatvāna seṭṭhaṃ  
 nirogena sammā munindānubhāvā

If he stops the novices,  
 Let them sacrifice me alone and proceed.  
 May they then proceed and obtain ordination as bhikkus,  
 And be healthy with the blessings of the Buddha.

puṇāgantva laṅkaṃ janindassa rañño  
 tamaggampi puññaṃ varaṃ te dadantu  
 tadā deva sammā samādāya tambho  
 nirogena ṭhatvā idaṃ sāsanaṃpi

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1. "Sāmāpare" (Corrigender)  
 2. "Yo Kho" MS.

Let them return to Ceylon again and cause  
 The king, the leader of men, share the merit;  
 O king, may you share that merit  
 And be in good health.

idaṃ vāpi lokam sadā pālayitvā  
 sukhatthāya aggaṃ karitvāna puññaṃ  
 sataṃ vāpi vassaṃ tato uttarimpi  
 sukaṃ jīva rājā ravi vānu bhāvo

Having ruled this world for ever  
 And performed many more meritorious deeds,  
 May you shine as the sun  
 For ever beyond a hundred years.

Since the king did not know Pāli, Sarapaṅkara forwarded this message to him with a lengthy paraphrase including an account of the History of Buddhism in Ceylon. As he was ready to offer himself as a sacrifice to any inhuman creature that would demand a victim we can imagine the high ideals of Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera. Although he presented this petition with high hopes, the king paid no attention to it. The king had no regard whatsoever for his country, nation or religion and he was so selfish as to send his Adigars along with the Dutch to fetch concubines for him. He was playful and got down dogs and chickens from the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> He was such a friend

of the foreigners that he entered into a compromise with the Dutch to obtain the release of the Roman Catholic Fathers who were imprisoned by them. Therefore he did not write a single letter to the Dutch to get down ordained bhikkus<sup>1</sup>. The other reason for this state of affairs was the influence of the Catholics with whom he associated.<sup>1</sup> With deep contempt Munkoṭuve Rāla refers to it thus:-

The religion is in utter neglect  
Owing to the lack of good kings  
Who dispel evil and engage in  
Good deeds and promote religion

If someone rules justly  
Having known the virtues of the Buddha  
And having realised the taste of the Doctrine  
These objects can be achieved.<sup>2</sup>

Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera who was so bold as to be ready to make a trip to a foreign country to bring the upasampadā and even volunteered to sacrifice his own life to any inhuman creature that would demand a human life to fulfil the latter's desire, prepared stanzas for memorandums to be sent to various countries such as Siam, Pegu, and Rakkhaṅga. From one of

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1. LFJG. p.97.

2. SRV. VV.83, 84.

these memorandums it is clearly evident that he knew quite well that his desire would not be fulfilled during the reign of King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha. Therefore having first written in Pāli a summary of the history of Buddhism in Ceylon he appended thereto detailed instructions as to how the ordination was to be brought down in case the delegation were to go abroad after his death.<sup>1</sup> Just as novice Sarapaṅkara thought, those memoranda were not of any use on account of the king's cold attitude.<sup>2</sup>

Why the King became friendly:

There was another reason for Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha to be friendly with Vāliiviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara. The king preferred foreign concubines to the local queens. He then appointed a woman of the Nāyakkar family as his queen.<sup>3</sup> There was a certain amount of unrest among his countrymen on account of this. This he did not mind and he further appointed as his Chief Minister a Vaḍuga Tamil from India. As a result of this many other Vaḍuga Tamils who had come from India walked into many other high posts in the Government. The wrath of the people was doubled. It may be seen that the king sought the support of Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera as a remedy to this. It was with this motive that he made Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera live in Kuṇḍasāle.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ms. 6601. (Photo stat. copy)

2. SSC. 10.

3. See Ch. I.

4. SSC. p.9.

Sarapaṅkara, being innocent by nature, did not realise the craftiness of the king. While the king tried his best to use him a tool to make himself and the Nāyakkar family popular, Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera associated with the king with the object of getting down upasampadā monks from abroad with the assistance of the king. The king reaped the desired fruits but not the Sāmanera. There also was another group that was frightened by the friendship of the king and Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera. They were the Catholics who were wandering free in the Kandyan Districts carrying on their missionary work.

Attempt to poison:

According to Father Gonsalvez the Catholics very soon began to consider Vālivīṭa Sarapaṅkara as the greatest enemy of the Catholics in the Kandyan areas.<sup>1</sup> While the opposition from the two Gaṇanāyakas of Asgiriya and Pōyamalu Vihāras now ceased, the king now had less consideration for the Catholics who had hitherto advised him. A Roman Catholic Father of Kandy indignant at this, sent six kaffies to Kandy to poison Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera. According to Mandārampura Puvata, when they were roaming about as dumb beggars Maḍugalle Adikāram got hold of them, and tortured and questioned them. It then came to light that they were sent from Colombo to poison Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera. The following verses in the Mandārampura

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1. LFJG. p.104.

Puvata describe this incident.

The king, his deputy and the ministers of the hill

country always

Protected with great devotion and respect as their eye

Sarapaṅkara, the novice of great virtues.

To poison him to death, the wicked kaffirs were employed.

"Having obtained bribes from the Father

In order to murder the novice Sarapaṅkara

We came to poison him"; as thus they said,

Six of them were produced before the king on the

following day.<sup>1</sup>

The king made investigations in connection with this incident and having found out the truth he exiled the Catholic father who was in the Kandyan area.<sup>2</sup> There is however no evidence to believe that Father Jacome Gonzalvez, in spite of his contemptuous references to Sarapaṅkara at the time he was a beloved friend of the king, was involved in this affair. However, the particular Roman Catholic Father was subsequently permitted to enter Kandy on an understanding not to commit a similar offence. Thereafter king Vīrapārākrama Narendrasīṃha engaged the services of twelve guards to look after Vāliviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara.<sup>3</sup>

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1. VV. 499. 506. Ed. L. Lankānanda Thera.

2. MPP. p.67.

3. V. 509. MPP

Institute in Niyamakanda:

Having failed in his attempts up to this time to establish ordination Vālivīṭa Sarapaṅkara now diverted his energies in a different direction. The king fulfilled his request to build a school where his pupils could conveniently study. The king ordered Māmpīṭiya Navaratna Amṛtaḥasta Mudiyanse to build a pirivena (Monastic institution) with all the amenities for the education of celibates in the forest of Niyamakanda<sup>1</sup> close to Āmbākke. He also presented lands in order to fulfil the needs of the student celibates.<sup>2</sup> Being an exemplary tutor Sarapaṅkara trained his pupils to produce valuable literary works and novice Ginigatpīṭiya Dīpaṅkara thus describes the writing of Munigupālaṅkāraya by Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera.

yatigaṇa manaramme sundare kānānasmīṇ  
sukata niyamakandavhe vihāre vasanto  
satapi apara pañcattiṃsa gāthāyupeta  
sa munigupa alaṅkāradike nūtanena<sup>3</sup>

In the beautiful forest, adorned with monks  
Niyamakanda monastery was built and he lived there.  
Consisting of hundred and thirty stanzas  
Munigupālaṅkāra was composed by him.

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1. Situated in Udunuvara in the Central Province.  
2. SSC. p.10.  
3. -do- p.11.

On instructions from the king, Sarapaṅkara and his pupils were supplied with food by servants employed in the temple. Sometimes villagers too offered alms to them. However, Sarapaṅkara did not give up his practice of begging for food and he used to walk up to the boundary of the village from the institution with his begging bowl, followed by his pupils.<sup>1</sup> But he could not engage himself in his educational activities very long. To take a mean advantage of Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera's popularity King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha sought his close association. As a result of this Sarapaṅkara had to set aside his good services and to spend his time with the king.

Unfair decision:

King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha now old, looking for a Sinhalese to succeed him did not find any and decided to select a person of the Vaḍuga clan to succeed to the throne. The king disclosed this to Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera and to a few trustworthy ministers and with their consent got down from Maḍura his queen's brother. He further kept him under the supervision of Sarapaṅkara Novice who was to instruct him in the Dhamma and other studies. This is thus described in the Mandāram Pura Puvata:

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1. SSC. p.10.



Since there were no children to succeed to the throne  
(In accordance) with the consent of the novice and  
ministers

A prince, a descendant of the Madurāpura royalty  
Was his queen's brother, full of virtues and wisdom;  
Having taken the right hand of that Vaḍuga prince  
The King placed it on the hand of Sarapaṅkara novice  
And said 'teach this prince doctrine and arts  
And cause him to protect the kingdom and the religion  
in future.<sup>1</sup>

Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera readily consented. Popularly  
known as 'Nāyakkar Hāmuduruvō'<sup>2</sup> he received his education at  
the feet of Sarapaṅkara Novice. Sarapaṅkara who originally  
was the pioneer of the religious campaign with his 'silvat  
members' was now closely associated with royalty and ministers.  
This did not occur quite unknowingly. We cannot believe that  
it always brought forth good results. At the time of King  
Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha's death there was not a fit person  
to succeed him on the throne of Laṅkā. Although some ministers  
wished to crown Upambuve Baṇḍāra,<sup>3</sup> a son born to a pretty queen  
(Yakaḍadōliya), this idea was nipped in the bud under opposition

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1. vv. 510, 511.  
2. See Chapter I.  
3. uv. p.31.

from powerful Vaḍuga ministers. Then Sarapaṅkara Novice presented his pupil the 'Nāyakkar Hāmuduruvō' as the heir to the throne. The Vaḍuga ministers readily approved of this. The Sinhalese may not have minded it out of respect for Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera. The 'Nāyakkar Hāmuduruvō' became king under the name of Vijaya Rājasīṃha. It is thus described in Mandārapura Puvata:-

Then the Noble Novice Sarapaṅkara presented  
That prince who learned arts letters and Pāli,  
Who shone as the moon in the line of kings,  
Who descended from the royalty in the city of Madura.

The prince was adorned with all ornaments;  
To the ministers the Novice introduced him and said,  
That the prince was of a royal clan,  
The Novice granted him with Ceylon and its ministers.

The Novice's kind word was so beneficial to Ceylon,  
That the Prime Minister accepted it with great respect.  
The crown of Ceylon not given to any foreigner earlier,  
Was placed on his head at that time.<sup>1</sup>

#### Post of Rāja Guru

Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera however did not unknowingly enthrone a Tamil from India for the first time since the advent of King

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1. vv. 519-521.

Vijaya. Both the clergy and the general public approved of this solely on account of his connection in this matter. He may have done so with the idea of achieving his long desired object with the help of his own pupil. Out of devotion for Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera, the bhikkhus of the two Vihāras and the general public accepted the new king with great respect. Immediately after he was enthroned the first act of the new king was to offer the post of Rāja Guru to his teacher Sarapaṅkara.<sup>1</sup> By conferring this honour the king expressed his gratitude to his own teacher.

#### Fear of Catholics

After the death of King Narendrasīṃha who was dear and helpful to them, the Catholics of the Kandyan areas were now in great anxiety chiefly because the pupil of Sarapaṅkara succeeded to the throne. Father Gonsalvez says that the Buddhists destroyed the Catholic church in Bōlavatta with the idea of driving away the Catholic missionaries.<sup>2</sup> Although the Catholics believed that it was done with the approval of Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera we cannot even for a moment think that an innocent bhikkhu of his nature would stoop to such an act.

#### Gratitude

King Vijayarājasīṃha frequently inquired as to his

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1. MPP. v. 532.

2. LFJG. p.103.

teacher's needs and also received his admonitions.<sup>1</sup> Apart from informing the king of his long cherished desire to bring the Ordination, Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera made one other request. That was to declare the temple land of his teacher Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera.

King Vīraparākrama Navendra Siṃha killed Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera along with Gascon. Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera's relations were expelled from the lands belonging to that Vihāra and were imprisoned in Bintāna. The lands were transferred to Uḍapola Appu.<sup>2</sup> Owing to this Vāliṇi Sarapaṅkara was greatly depressed. When Vijayarājasīṃha became king, the Sāmaṇera explained the situation to him and restored the lands to the relatives again. This is disclosed by the following letter written by him after being appointed 'Saṃgharāja'.

"My tutor, Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera<sup>3</sup> was of immense service to king Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha at Haṅguranketa, as he instructed the king in reading and writing and gave him kind admonitions. Gascon Adikāram also was very dear to the king and he led a beneficial life writing poetry. He never meant any ill-will or disobedience. Since it is quite natural for the blame to fall even on loyal ones before the king's wrath, the

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1. MPP. vv. 559, 561.

2. See Chapter X.

3. Sūriyagoḍa Mahaterunnāse. See Appendix 3.

Adikaram was executed. So was the Sāmaṇera. Since then the Sūriyagoḍa village was conferred on Uḍapola Appu and the relations of Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera suffered greatly.

When that king passed away and King Vijayarājasinha ascended the throne, I brought to his notice that my teacher's relations had been deprived of his lands. The king released all the relations from the places where they were imprisoned and handed over the lands to me to be dealt with in accordance with my wish. Thus the relations who were brought back to Sūriyagoḍa were supplied with paddy, rice, cooked rice, clothes, money, cattle, knives, mamotties and dishes in the name of my teacher and further the village was restored to them. I saw to it that they did not undergo any inconvenience from my relations and made them comfortable. Since I could not help in that manner for ever and as the Vihāra was neglected I was looking for someone to hand over the same. Therefore I handed over the village and the relations to my nephew, the young monk of Vāliiviṭṭa. So according to my wishes he served the relations of my teacher, admonished them by holding sermons, won their hearts and after improving their devotion he got the damage of the Vihāra repaired by Teldepiya Sittara Nayide. Then on Thursday, the full moon of the Esan month in this year one

thousand six hundred and seventy nine of Śaka era, the day when the eyes of the Buddha image were to be placed, along with the leaders and elders of all neighbouring villages he invited me and spent 480 silver coins and made me share that merit. My teachers also recalled as partners of that merit. I was immensely pleased by this act. Nothing is being now given to anyone other than the relations of Sūriyagoḍa Vihārēgama Unnāṇse. Hereafter, so long as this young monk, my nephew lives, you should not transgress his advice but live in unity and obedience according to his wishes for gaining benefits in this world and the next. With the greatest effort this young monk made the Sūriyagoḍa Vihāsa prosper. He did a great service to the people by making the good people in the adjoining villages observe the five-fold and eight-fold precepts. He is grateful to his teachers and lives according to my wishes, in conformity with the Dhamma, always mindful of the next birth and well disciplined. Therefore this monk should henceforth be called Sūriyagoḍa Unnāṇse of Saṅgharāja Unnāṇse". According to this letter it is very clear that the lands belonging to Sūriyagoḍa Vihāsa were conferred on the relations of Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera at the request of Sarapaṅkara Novice.

During the reign of this king and on his invitation Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera wrote Sārārtha Dīpanī and Madhurārtha

Prakāśanī,<sup>1</sup> the paraphrases to Catubhāpavāra Pāli and Bhodī Vaṃsa.<sup>2</sup>

### Delegation for Higher Ordination

In order to fulfil his longfelt desire to establish higher ordination Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera requested the king to get down bhikkhus. The king acquired a ship from the Dutch,<sup>3</sup> for this journey. The Sāmaṇera caused the Pious Ones named Arāgoḍa, Gaṇēgoḍa, Liṇḍapiṭṭiyē, Vaṭavana and Halpē to disrobe themselves and trained them as lay devotees for the journey. Together with a message and various presents, the king sent those devotees to Fegu along with the two ministers named Doraṇāgama Muhandiram Rāla and Mātara Rāla. But while on the journey the ship was caught in a storm and all but the two ministers, Vaṭavana devotee and his servant, were drowned. After escaping from this disaster they managed to land in the city of Haṃsavati by boats but were assaulted by robbers. However three people including Doraṇāgama Muhandiram Rāla just saved their lives, returned to Ceylon and related about this mishap.<sup>4</sup>

As told in the Mandāram Pura Fuvata king Vijayarājasiṃha had first despatched in two Dutch ships Hippola and five others

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1. See Chapter XIV.

2. 'Sinhalese Literature' Dr. C.E. Godakumbure. p.38.

3. See Chapter IX.

4. SSC. p.12.

to find out details of countries where higher ordination was available, before sending the above mentioned embassy. One delegation that went to find out details returned after roaming one year in India. The other delegation went to Burma and Siam and returning after two years of searching for particulars, they stated that pure Theravāda Buddhism was found in Burma and Siam. It can be believed that Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera who got this information decided to send a delegation to Siam.<sup>1</sup>

Although the first attempt was disastrous, Sarapaṅkara was not discouraged. He arranged another trip with the help of the king. The Pious Ones namely Vāllave, Galaṭombuvē, Dehivala Bōtalē and Ōgaḍapola representing Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera were despatched to Siam in a Dutch ship, together with the king's representatives namely the Ministers of Mīdeniya, Vilbāgedara, and Dorapāgama Rāla who managed to save his life and return from the earlier trip.<sup>2</sup> According to Vilabāgedara Rāla's account Dorapāgama Rāla died in Siam the others died on their way home and only Vilbāgedara Rāla returned home eventually. In describing this journey Munkoṭuve Rāla mentions that the Nilames of Paṭṭapola, Elipola and Īriyagama together with Vilbāve Rāla and Āyittāliyedde Rāla were despatched as delegates.<sup>3</sup>

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1. MPP. vv. 571-578.

2. See Ch. IX.

3. VV. 106-122.



While not making any mention of any disaster that befell them, he further states that they had to return as a result of the death of king Vijayarājasīṃha. Of these Vilbāgedara Rāla's description could be treated as more authoritative since he was himself a member of the third trip.<sup>1</sup>

While Vilbāgedara Rāla, the only survivor of the delegates despatched to Siam was staying in Batavia after landing there King Vijayarājasīṃha expired. He was succeeded by Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha. Vilbāgedara requested the Dutch Governor in Batavia to get down bhikkhus from Siam at any cost. But the Dutch Governor informed him that he could not do so without knowing clearly whether the new king would consent to it, so Vilbāgedara had to return to Ceylon empty-handed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See Ch. IX.

2. Ms. Malvaturājāvaliya (Photo stat. copy).

CHAPTER XIIGolden Age:

The reign of king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha was a golden era for Buddhism in Ceylon and for Vālivīṭa Sāraṇāṅkara as well. Although the ambassadors sent to Siam during the reign of king Vijaya Rājasiṃha could not bring the ~~tipasa-~~padā montes Sāraṇāṅkara Sāmaṇera was not discouraged at all.<sup>1</sup> He admitted more and more members to the Order. Thereby the membership of the Silvat Sect exceeded seven hundred.<sup>2</sup>

When king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha ascended the throne Sāraṇāṅkara Novice<sup>3</sup> related to him how the Dhamma and education had perished as a result of the maltreatment of Buddhism by Rājasiṃha I and the Portugese. He made it very clear to the king that another dark age would soon emerge if facilities were not made available for him to spread his knowledge of the Dhamma and languages to laymen and bhikkhus. The king who listened to him with attention made facilities available for laymen and bhikhu students to come from all parts of Ceylon to Sāraṇāṅkara Sāmaṇera to acquire education. For

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1 See Ch. IX

2 SSC. p. 13

3 See Ch. I

this purpose the king built schools in the Vihāras of Pōyamaluva, Asgiriya, Suduhumpola, Ampitīya, Nittavela and Gaṅgārāmaya. It is thus mentioned in the Mandārampura Puvata.<sup>1</sup>

The king recognised those who learned the doctrine etc.  
In both manasteries and in four temples at the gravets;  
He built institutions in these six places,  
And ordered everybody to receive education.

In Suduhumpola, Ampitīya and Nittavela  
And Gaṅgārāma Vihāra in these four places,  
The king granted villages to maintain these institutions,  
All the people received their education.

To take advantage of these educational institutions, lay and clerical students from all over the Tri Siṃhala, Ruhuna, Māyā and Pihiti started to pour into Kandy. Even king Kīrti Srī Rājasimha learned the Buādhist doctrine as well as humane laws from Sarapaṅkara Sāmapera.

The king was greatly distressed to hear that there was not a single ordained bhikkhu in Ceylon. With the determination to make Buddhism flourish<sup>2</sup> during his reign, king Kīrti Srī Rājasimha<sup>1</sup> was overjoyed to hear that Buddhism

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1 MPP. vv. 640, 646.

2 SUV. p. 37.

in its pure form was still prevalent in Siam. Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera having heard of this volunteered to go to Siam himself to bring bhikkhus who could confer Higher Ordination. When the king prevented him from going to Siam,<sup>1</sup> he requested the king to procure ordained bhikkhus from Siam at any cost. The king gladly consented, and decided to fulfil the novice's desire.

#### Despatch of Ambassadors to Siam:

It was mentioned earlier that only Vilbāgedera Rāla survived to return from the earlier embassy to Siam.<sup>2</sup> Another embassy of six under his leadership was despatched to Siam again in a Dutch ship with presents. They started their journey from Kandy in August 1750 and it took them twelve days to reach Trincomalee.<sup>3</sup> There they boarded a Dutch ship and after landing at Ayyuthya in Siam they met the king of Siam and managed to obtain eighteen Theras headed by Upiā Thera and consisting of seven Sāmaṇeras for Ceylon. A detailed description of this was given at the beginning of this work.<sup>4</sup>

#### Ordination Ceremony:

A few days after the despatch of this embassy to Siam

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1 MS. Kuśalakriyāmu Sandeśaya.

2 See Ch. IX

3 Syāmaṇavaṇṇā p.1

4 See Ch. IX

a merchant came from Sinnapaṭṭam, and from him Sarapaṭṭhara Sāmanera came to know that Buddhism was flourishing in Pegu and he promised to give a prize of one thousand gold coins if he were to bring an ordained bhikkhu from there. He agreed and later brought a bhikkhu who had come to Sinnapaṭṭam from Pegu. King Kirti Sri Rajasinha accompanied him from Anurādhapura to Kandy and presented him to the novice Sarapaṭṭhara. He brought thousands of Silvat members from Nūthadevāla in procession to Sūyāla Vihāra and had them ordained by that bhikkhu.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Arrival of Siamese Monks:

Shortly afterwards, the Siamese monks set forth for Ceylon accompanied by the Ceylonese mission. They landed at Trincomalee from a Dutch ship, in the company of Vilbāgedera Māla, while the others landed in Colombo. King Kirti Sri Rajasinha had sent a delegation with Anālepolā, the Chief Adigar to greet them at Trincomalee.<sup>2</sup> The Siamese monks with Upāli Thera on their way to Kandy took up residence at Gogapola.

Sāmanera Sarapaṭṭhara along with the Chief novices Nāvinna and Kobbāhādura of the Asgiriya and Malvatta temples

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<sup>1</sup> US. Kusālakriyāṃ Sādhedaya.

<sup>2</sup> Vilbāgedera Māla See Ch. IX.

went to Godapola and greeted Upāli Thera. When Upāli Thera saw the Sāmaṇera Saraṇaṅkara he questioned, "Saraṇaṅkaro Ko?"<sup>1</sup> Sāmaṇera Saraṇaṅkara seems to have made an impression on Upāli Thera at Godapola. There the Siamese monks taught the Ceylonese novices including the Sāmaṇera Saraṇaṅkara, the forms of wearing the robes, and the rituals at ordination.<sup>2</sup> King Kīrthi Sri met the Siamese monks at Alutgamtoṭa on the Mahavāli Gaṅga and took them in procession to Kandy.<sup>3</sup>

Having established the "gāma sīmā" in Malvatta temple, The Siamese monks who came to Ceylon very soon First selected the novice, a pupil of Upāli Thera And conferred Upasampadā on him there.<sup>4</sup>

Thus a Siamese novice was ordained first, in order to set a model for the Ceylonese novices. On the second day six Ceylonese novices including the Saraṇaṅkara received ordination. At the ordination Upāli Thera acted as the preceptor while Brahmajoti and Mahāpuṇṇa Theras functioned as advisers.<sup>5</sup> The first novice to receive

1 "Who is Saraṇaṅkara?"

2 SSC. p. 13

3 MS. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya

4 Ed. Laṅkānanda - v. 678.

5. "Karma vāgācārya"

<sup>u</sup>  
 Upasampadā was the novice Kobbāka<sup>u</sup>ve, the chief of the  
 Pōyamalu viçhā<sup>u</sup> and then the chief novice at Asgiriya  
 was ordained. Next came the ordination of Sāmaṇera  
 Saraṇaṅkara, Hulangamuva, Baṁbaradeniya and Tibbotuvāve  
 novices. But "Sangharāja Sādhu Cariyā" and "Syāmapasampadā-  
 vata" mention Sāmaṇera Saraṇaṅkara as the second to be  
 ordained from the Sinhalese and Nāvinne novice as the sixth.  
 There is evidence to show that the Chief Novice at Pōyamalu  
 was ordained first and the Chief Novice at Asgiriya second.  
 In the book "Mandārapura Puvata" the following verse throws  
 light on that.

He who was the chief of the Asgiri Monastery  
 Well versed in the canon and a leader of the community  
 Was Nāvinna Dhamadassi, the son of the Buddha  
 The Upasampadā was conferred on him second.  
 Well versed in grammar and five languages  
 With rituals and morality well observed,  
 Was the noble novice of Vālivita, endowed with fame,  
 Arrangements were made to ordain him next.<sup>1</sup>

According to this Vālivita Novice was ordained  
 as the third. All those who wrote about his ordination

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<sup>1</sup> Laṅkānanda. vv. 702, 703.

ceremony were either persons who belonged to Malvatta Vihāra or those who supported it. Tibbotuvāve Sri Buddharakkhita Thera, the Mahānāyake of Malvatta was the author of Syāmapasampadāvata. Muṅkotuve Rāla, the author of Sangārājavata was a pupil of Moratota Dhammakkhaṇḍa, the Anunāyaka Thera of Malvatta. The author of Syāmavarnanā was a friend of Tibbotuvāve Mahānāyaka Thera.

During the age of decline both the Fraternities Grāmaṇāsa (the Village Fraternity) and the "Vanavāsa" (the Jungle Fraternity) had degenerated very badly. Therefore there was not during that period any appreciable rift between Malvatta and Asgiriya Vihāras. This rift, however, broadened once Higher Ordination was restored. Therefore the books written by contemporary authors would appear to have been written with the aim of belittling Nāvinna Thera of Asigiriya Vihāra. This leads us to the conclusion that the description of an impartial writer, such as the author of Mandārampura Puvata, is nearer the truth. Furthermore, it could be said that whilst being in a position to obtain the Higher Ordination first, Savaṇaṅkara did not do so with the idea of showing his respect to the Gaṇanāyakas of the two chief Vihāras. He displayed his modesty by obtaining the Higher Ordination later.



Post of Saṅgharāja:

Saraṇākara Thera who thus fulfilled his ambition by receiving the Higher Ordination at the age of fifty-five began to spend the (vas) rainy season in the Malvatte Vihāra with other bhikkhus. Thereafter the Higher Ordination was given to other Sāmaṇeas of Asgiriya and Malvatte Vihāras so that they spent the Retreat (rainy season) there. Following the advice laid down in the Gold Book that was brought down from Siam Upāli Thera established the boundaries of the Malvatta and Asgiriya temples and gave Higher Ordination to hundreds of Ceylonese bhikkhus.<sup>1</sup> Then king Kīrti Srī Rājasiṃha conferred on Vālivīṭa Saraṇākara, the post of Saṅgharāja by presenting him with a fan, the emblem of this high post.<sup>2</sup> This post had been vacant since the days of Viḍāgama Maitreya Saṅgharāja of Kōṭṭe. Along with this post he was given a royal mandate to rule over all the bhikkhus in the island. It is thus related by Muṅkoṭṭuve Rāla.

Making the very name of Saraṇākara famous in the Order,  
And being promoted to the esteemed post of Saṅgharāja,  
From the king of laṅkā, he achieved wealth  
And shone like unto a moon in the sky of Buddha sāsaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

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1 SSC. p. 15.

2 MS. Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya

3 SRV. v. 178.

"Bhikkhu do not be haughty:"

Saraṇaṅkara Thera who knew beforehand from a minister of his prospective appointment wrote the words "Idāṅgu nova mahapa" (Oh! bhikkhu, do not be haughty) thrice on his door frame. By this he wanted to ensure that the appointment did not create in him a sense of haughtiness.<sup>1</sup> King Kīrti Srī was all the more happy to hear of this.

On the advice of Saraṇaṅkara Thera, king Kīrti Srī appointed Tibbotuvāve Sri Biddhārtha Buddharakkhita Thera and Urulēvatte Dhammasiddhi Thera as the Mahānāyakas of Malvatta and Asgiriya temples respectively and presented to them the relevant fans.<sup>2</sup> Although Kobbūkaḍuve and Nāvinne Theras should have been appointed to these posts, it appears that he paid more attention to superiority in morality rather than to mere seniority alone.

Upāli Thera and other Siamese bhikkhus stayed in Kandy for three years and ordained seven hundred bhikkhus and admitted three thousand Samaneras. When they visited Anuradhāpura on a pilgrimage, the Saṅgharāja was capable of getting Sīmās established at Nārammala Raja Mahā Vihāra,

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1. Saṅgharāja Caritaya (Somaratana)

2. SSC. p. 15

Māddepola Vihāra and Maḍavale Vihāra.<sup>1</sup>

Having given a very warm welcome to the second embassy that came from Siam he got them to confer Higher Ordination on other novices and in turn taught them the meditations of Vidarśanā. These bhikkhus went round Ceylon worshipping at many places of religious importance, and established the sīmās at the temples of Mutugala, Kalundāya, etc.

Since many of the Siamese bhikkhus felt that the climate in Kandy did not suit them,<sup>2</sup> they went to reside in the Sat Kōrale and as a result the Saṅgharāja had to pay visits there frequently.<sup>3</sup> Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja who went on a pilgrimage to Anurādhapura during this period was compelled to spend the (vas) rainy season in Baḍagamuva.<sup>4</sup> Thereby many vihāras in Sat Kōrale were renovated during this period.

Disunity of the two temples:

As the sāmaṇeras in every nook and corner of Ceylon

1 SSC. p. 17.

2 <sup>H</sup> <sup>C</sup> MSS. Report. p. 10

3 See Ch. IX

4 Saṅgharāja Caritaya. p. 37.

obtained Higher Ordination, Buddhism in Ceylon flourished once again. The Saṅgharāja Thera summoned to Malvatta all the bhikkhus of the two <sup>as time</sup> Moḥettinis as well as the chief monks living in various other places of Ceylon, and admonished them in terms of the Vinaya regulations.<sup>1</sup> He also compiled a list of regulations for leading the bhikkhus on the correct path, with the idea of establishing the religion for the future. He brought down sāmaṇeras from various places of the island, especially from Ruhuna and taught them the "Dhamma" (Doctrine). He never wasted even a minute. He did a great service for the upliftment of the religion by making them commit to writing original texts, paraphrases and detailed explanations.

#### The Saṅgharāja imprisoned:

Although Vālivita Thera made great endeavour both day and night for the sake of the upliftment of the Buddhist religion and the Order of monks, few there were who appreciated his efforts. Those bhikkhus of Malvatta and Asgiriya who were merely nominal bhikkhus, who had thoroughly degenerated before the Higher Ordination was brought down, assumed a new life after the ordination ceremony. The age-old rift between the two chapters Asgiriya and Malvatta again appeared

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1 SS0 A. 20.

while king Kārti Sī although Buddhist, continued to apply ashes on his forehead.<sup>1</sup> Samarakkoḍi Adikāram and Molādande Gajanāyake Nilame who were dissatisfied with this, were able to incite some bhikkhus in the Malvatta Vihāra against the king.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1760, the eighth year since the establishing of the Higher Ordination by Siamese bhikkhus, they conspired to capture king Kīrti Sī and to disrobe a Siamese bhikkhu of royal birth and crown him king of Laṅkā. Some historians believe that the Dutch were helpful in bringing down this bhikkhu of royal descent.<sup>3</sup> According to Sāsānāvātīrṇa, a contemporary history book, it happened thus.<sup>4</sup> It was proclaimed that a teacher of Vidarṣanā meditation had been brought from Siam. A book he brought with him was taken in procession along the four streets and the king too was invited to hear the Dharma. They dug a deep pit in the Hall of Confession laid with spikes and made arrangements for the king to fall there on his arrival. These unscrupulous persons intended to seal the king up with earth when he dropped there.

A nāyake thera by the name of Yaṭavatte of the

1 Sāsānāvātīrṇa Varnanā, p. 26.

2 Molādande Rebellion (C A) p. 272

3 Indāsabhavarāṇāna Caritaya - p. 92.

4 See Ch. I.

Asgiriya Vihāra received information of this, and disguising himself in a layman's dress, he went to the palace and passed this information to a Muslim servant by the name of Gōpāla Mudiyanse, in the service of the palace.<sup>1</sup>

He in turn informed the king. According to Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnanā one Pilamatalavve Nilame gave this information to the king. However, being quite aware of this conspiracy the king went to Malvatta Vihāra and after listening to the sermon from beginning to the end standing in a place in front of that pit, he made his offering at the end. Thereafter with the spike in his hand he tapped at the pit and got proof of the information received. King Kīrti Srī who then returned to the palace summoned all the chief bhikkhus of Malvatta including the Vālivita Saṅgharāja and the Chieftain mudaliyara, when he questioned Vālivita Thera for details of the religious ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

The Saṅgharāja was silent. When questioned again he realised that there was no escape from the king and admitted his knowledge of it. The king roared with anger and demanded why he had not been informed earlier. The Saṅgharāja showed the king his finger and said thus, "Your majesty, I am not treating this wound in my finger, for fear

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CA.  
1 p. 272

2 Sāsanāvatiṛṇa Varnanā p. 27.

of killing the worm in it. I am so scared of destroying another's life. In case I gave you information about this incident, how many lives would have been destroyed?". As he finished the king asked him, "How is it if I died?". To this the innocent Saṅgharāja replied, "It does not bring any ill effect on me as I hadn't advocated it." The king questioned him again and asked "Is it becoming of your pupils to do so". The Saṅgharāja observed silence. Raging with anger the king remarked. "Vālivīṭa kaṇā (the blind) has destroyed the whole order under the guise of improving it", and ordered him to be imprisoned.

In a letter captioned "Moladanda Viplavaya"<sup>1</sup> written by an Englishman named Johnston, it is mentioned that Saranaikara Thera who was found guilty of this conspiracy was imprisoned at Dumbare while Tibboṭuvāve Sīrī Siddhārtha Buddharakṣita Thera was imprisoned in Kurunāgala. According to his description the leaders of this revolt were Valivīṭa Saṅgharāja and Tibboṭuvāve Siddhārtha Thera. However, we cannot accept all this as true. King Kīrti Sīrī, who discovered the truth about this plot, beheaded Samarakkodī Adikāram, the leader of the conspiracy and spiked the other chieftains. The lands belonging to Moladanda Gajānāyake

Nilame were transferred to Parakumbure Rājakarunā Vaidyatilaka Gōpāla Mudiyanse and his descendants.<sup>1</sup>

King Kīrti Śrī did not stop there, but took steps to punish the Siamese bhikkhus. Then Migastāne Nilame intervened and after admonishing him by relating the Chaddanta Jātaka, got the Siamese bhikkhus released. They were, however, not allowed to live in Kandy. It is described in the Śāsanāvatiṛṇa that many of them killed themselves by drinking the juice of the Daluk shrubs.<sup>2</sup>

There is no reference to this incident in the contemporary books such as Saṅgarājavata and Saṅgharāja Sādhu Cariyāva. We can conclude that reference to this incident is avoided on account of the silly idea that such an inclusion would have been a blemish on the good character of the Saṅgharāja. Even in the Buddācarita there are enough parallel incidents. Should we not agree that the humiliation caused by Māgandhi in Kosambi,<sup>3</sup> the plot by Devadatta to kill Buddha in Rajagaha<sup>4</sup> and the insult by Akkosaka Bhāradvāja Brāhmana<sup>5</sup> and Ciñcā add more colour to the life story of Buddha rather than stain it. On such

1 Kagalle Report by Bell p. 107

2 Ed. Dr. C.E. Godakumbure p. 11.

3 Dhammapadatṭha Kathā (Sāmāvatī Vatthu)

4 Dhammapadatṭha Kathā (Devadatta Vattu)

5 Saṇḍiyukṭṭha Nikāya - Brāhmana Samyutta



occasions His qualities of patience and compassion shone as never before. The Mahā Theras who compiled the Dhamma books included them in the Tripitaka with the idea of exposing the superior virtues of Buddha. The banishment of the Saṅgharāja during his Sāmaṇera days and on this occasion are shining incidents in his life story. It is not strange for him to have faced all these obstacles, to have suffered hardships caused by his associates and then do such yeoman service in the interests of the nation and religion. It was on account of his unscrupulous pupils and foolish chieftains that he had to encounter such hardships.

#### His rebuke.

The fate of the Siamese bhikkhus is not referred to anywhere other than in the Śāsanāvatiṛṇa. However, in the Saṅgharāja Sādhu Cariyā, it is mentioned that one bhikkhu by the name of Nāga who obtained Higher Ordination under the tutorship of Brahmajoti Thera, died of indigestion in Sat Kōrale.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he was one of those banished by king Kṛti Śrī. It may be on account of this death that mention is made in the Śāsanāvatiṛṇa to the effect that the Siamese bhikkhus died of drinking the juice of Daluk. Can the king's dislike of them be doubted since he did not take part

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1 Ed. Sannasgala p. 17

in the cremation ceremony of Nāga bhikkhu held by the people and bhikkhus of Sat Kōrale?<sup>1</sup> Saṅgharāja who was banished on account of the faults of his pupils, did not remain in banishment long. As on the previous occasion, a Sanyāsi came to the city of Senkādagala (Kandy)<sup>2</sup> and while boasting of his knowledge he recited one stanza. The king tried to extract its meaning from his ministers, the chieftains, and the bhikkhus of the two vihāras, but failed. When he was informed that only the Saṅgharāja would be able to understand it, he sent for him and questioned him. When the Saṅgharāja explained its meaning, king Kīrti Srī was greatly pleased and gave pardon for the wrong he had done.<sup>3</sup>

The king realised that his adhering to the practice of applying ash to the forehead was the cause of the revolt which would have otherwise not taken place. He accordingly did away with the practice as a self-inflicted punishment for the wrong he had committed. Nay, he went further. It is said that the practice of polishing ola leaves with saffron dates back to this time when it was forbidden to peep even into a letter treated with soot and charcoal.\*

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1 SSC. p. 17

2 See Ch. X

3 Sāsanāvatiṛna Varnanā, p. 28

\* Dr. C.E. Godakumbure says that the practice of polishing ola leaves with saffron was introduced to Ceylon from Burma and that he had seen such manuscripts.

This enabled the Saṅgharāja's fame to spread far and wide and the king's veneration increased. The king began to respect him as indeed, never before.

A certain amount of doubt arises regarding this mendicant. Earlier it was mentioned how a certain Brahmin visited the palace when Vīra Parākrama Narendrasimha expelled the Sāmaṇera Saramāṅkara. Saramāṅkara won the king's favour by elucidating a knotty śloka "vidvāneva vijānāti."<sup>1</sup> Even at the time the Saṅgharāja was imprisoned a Sanyāsi visited him in like manner and the Saṅgharāja was released when he explained the śloka. It is so stated in the "Śāsanāvatiṛṇa." What actually happened to the Brahmin earlier referred to, or to the Sanyāsi is never mentioned anywhere.<sup>2</sup> Further, both of them recited the same śloka. Moreover it is not<sup>so</sup> difficult & one. It is contained in Kuvalayananda of Appaiya Dīkṣita and its modified meaning appears in one of the popular poems of Alagiyavanna as follows:-

Only the poets know the poetic merits or demerits,

How can the foolish plagiarist know them?

Only the women who gave birth know the pains of labour,

How can the barren women know it?<sup>3</sup>

1 See Ch. XI

2 SSC. mentions that he was a god.

3 Subhāsitaya v. 8.

In the circumstances there is no reason why this sloka should turn out to be such a knotty problem for the learned at the time. Some are under the impression that these two non-Buddhists were despatched by the gods to publicise Saṅgharāja's wisdom. But the truth is otherwise. Cannot this be considered as one of the Saṅgharāja's own stratagems to declare before the king, his learning and greatness?

CHAPTER XIIIFirst higher Ordination

Vāliiviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara entered the Order when he was sixteen years of age, received higher Ordination at the age of fifty four and was imprisoned at the age of sixty two, during which period he underwent tremendous hardships for the sake of religion. But he was not deterred even after the troubles he had to face for full forty four years. The Higher Ordination which was introduced to Ceylon from a country called Rakkhaṅga disappeared owing to the negligence of those who received that ordination.<sup>1</sup> Venerable Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja noticed this fully and in the twelfth year of his upasampadā i.e. in 1764 A.C. held the first Higher Ordination with the assistance of Ceylonese monks.<sup>2</sup> Hundreds of Novices received Higher Ordination. His Majesty Kīrti Śrī, along with the council of ministers gave every possible assistance.

Ever since then the Upasampadā ceremony is conducted annually at the Malvatta and Asgiriya Monasteries. Nevertheless, with the revival of age-old differences between the Asgiriya and Malvatta monasteries even after the establishment of Upasampadā, the Saṅgharāja could not rest in peace even though he

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1. SVVP. p.245. See also Chs. II, III.

2. SUV. p.42. Ed. Pragnātīśya.

was successful in re-establishing the Buddhist Order.<sup>1</sup> The Saṅgharāja convened an assembly of both these monasteries at Malvatta.<sup>2</sup> He admonished them and remarked that the two Vihāres were like his twin eyes. A monk<sup>3</sup> of the Asgiriya temple asked the Saṅgharāja in a sarcastic way, whether Asgiriya was like his spoilt eye. Saṅgharāja was at the time affected with an eye disease. The fact that king Kīrti Śrī derided him saying 'Vālivita Kapā' (Velivita, the Blind) shows that the Venerable Saṅgharāja was suffering from an eye disease at the time of the Malvatta conspiracy. The Saṅgharāja's attempt at reconciling both parties failed. Time and again the monks of the Asgiriya chapter blamed him for siding with the Malvatta although he was from the Asgiriya chapter. This made him sad.

#### Katikāvata

Meanwhile he came to know that the upasampadā which had been painfully restored by him, was once again being disgraced. He realised that if people who were engaged in various occupations<sup>4</sup> entered the Order in their late fifties and carried on their erstwhile occupations, once again the religion would in consequence perish.

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1. SAV. p.26.

2. Golāhanvatte {Junior} SSC. p.37.

3. Golāhanvatte (Junior)

4. See Ch. IV. MPP vv. 825.

There were among the bhikkhus residing in different parts of the island, some who were practising celibacy in accordance with the monastic rules he initiated, yet there remained others who flouted even the Saṅgharāja's Orders. Even at Malvatta and Asgiriya there were monks who were engaged in maintaining their kinsmen and looking after their lands as hitherto. As monks were engaged in anti-Vinaya and anti-Dhamma activities king Kīrti Śrī instituted a Katikāvata,<sup>1</sup> a code of discipline for the monks - with the help of the Saṅgharāja. But these Katikāvatas do not seem to have produced results. Those who flouted the disciplinary rules took the upper hand. They managed to convince the king that those who were engaged in anti-religious activities were no other than the 'sect of Silvats' and requested him to ban them by a royal decree.<sup>2</sup> In the circumstances how could it be said that the Saṅgharāja spent his last days in peace and happiness! For some time after obtaining the position of Saṅgharāja he lived at Malvatta Monastery. That he endeavoured to spend the rest of his life in meditation, may be owing to the increase in the hardships he had to encounter. It was owing to this alone, that he chose the first hermitage at Hantāne.<sup>3</sup> King Kīrti Śrī

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1. Katikāvata Saṅgharāva (Ed. D.B.Jayatilaka)

2. The preface to MPP.

3. SSC. p.40.

on hearing that the Saṅgharāja was residing at Uḍavela and going on his alms rounds, was so pleased, that he caused a flight of steps to be built from the forest hermitage at Hantāne to Malvatta Vihāra, so that he could walk easily. One day while he was going up the steps, he became aware of a polaṅgā (viper) that had stung his foot and out of compassion he let the viper sting again. Although the viper is venomous the Saṅgharāja used no medicine and no harm was done to him.<sup>1</sup> The ruins of this flight of steps can be seen even to this day. Gave evidence in a case.

The Saṅgharāja had occasion to face troubles that arose not only from his own disciples but from ordinary men as well. On one occasion he had to give evidence before King Kīrti Śrī of Kandy in a case that arose from a dispute concerning a paddy field. Among the several books collected by Hugh Nevill and now deposited in the British Museum is a short poem captioned 'Ket Habe Vinisa'<sup>2</sup> which describes this incident thus:-

"A man named Baṁba Nākatirāla of Dumbara had two sons, the elder of whom was a lame astrologer. Having come to Kandy to work in the construction of parapet walls, he unfortunately fell ill. His brother, had betrayed him by being on too friendly terms with his wife. Taken

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1. SSC p.40. Saṅgharāja Charitaya p.63.

2. Ms. Ket Habe Vinisa. Or. 6606.

(A copy of this Ms. is in the possession of K.Wachissara)



ill with an attack of dysentery he set forth to return to his village, but could not however, reach home. His pupil, Muñkoṭuve Dantu Āracci, lent him support. As he was deserted by his wife and neglected by his children, he bequeathed by his last will below he died his paddy field to his pupil Dantu Āracci. Dantu Āracci could not enjoy the produce from this field owing to objections raised by the dead man's brother. Nevertheless he had the dispute settled in his favour in 1775 on the matter being referred to the Maha Nilame of Mātale who was in Kandy. However, the problem created by the dead astrologer was not completely solved. Thereupon Āracci appealed to the King citing the Saṅgharāja as a witness. The Saṅgharāja's evidence won the case for him."

The incident is further described thus in the following stanzas:-

balavat (ē) maha naduven gama gattā  
 emalat yalēdī mama asvanu gattā  
 naḍugat un edat dabareṭa hiṭagattā  
 nāvatāt paṣu nobāsa ~~avulātā~~ hiṭagattā  
 apakit siri rājasiha naranidunhaṭa  
 mepavat oppu keruvā saṅgaraju eviṭa  
 deviṇḍun vāḍa iṇḍina avasara lābīsīṭa  
 sirimat magul maḍuvēdī vinisakoṭa

soḷos siya aṭānūvasa vesaṅgapura  
 sahas netese seṃkaḍagaladī evara  
 tidas pura vāḍiya deviyangē pavara  
 medas haṭama lābunā naḍuven kuṃbura<sup>1</sup>

I won the case and obtained the land,  
 The Harvest of the next Yala crop was mine.  
 The disputants did not yield to judgement,  
 But persisted in pressing their claims.  
 To our Kitsiri, the lord of men  
 The Saṅgharāja then proved my case;  
 He having taken the opportunity,  
 Weighed the pros and cons in the Assembly Hall.

In the waxing half of the Wesak month in 1698 (s.e.)  
 Passed away the King who resembled Sakra;  
 At the time he lived in Seṃkaḍagala.  
 This servant won the case and possessed the field.

In the opinion of some it would be improper for a  
 Buddhist monk, let alone a Saṅgharāja, to give evidence in  
 such a case before a king or in a Court of Law. The Buddhist  
 doctrine, however, does not forbid a monk to reveal in  
 evidence what he knows to be the truth as is demonstrated by  
 the following stanza:-

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1. Ms. Kethabe Vinisa Or. 6606.

yo atta hetu parahetu  
 dhana hetuca yo naro  
 sakkhi putt̃ho musā brūti  
 taṃ jaññijā vasalo iti<sup>1</sup>

He who for his own benefit or for another's  
 Or for the sake of wealth  
 Speaks untruth in evidence  
 Should be known as an outcast.

Even Lord Buddha did not hesitate to state in evidence what he knew was the truth if it would not be harmful to anyone.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, it cannot be said that the Saṅgharāja was wrong in giving evidence, for he did not do so in order to establish a false claim.

It does not appear that the Saṅgharāja in his old age received the least attention from his pupils,<sup>3</sup> of whom there were many. There were, however some among them who loved and respected him, but they lived far away from Kandy. Those who associated with him closely derived much benefit from such association yet at the same time secretly plotted against him and his cause. Two of his relations were pupils, who had been

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1. Vasala Sutta - Khuddakanikāya - Sutta Nipāta.
  2. Dhammapadaṭṭha Kathā p.71. (Ed. Hevāvitāraṇa).
  3. Ms. Or. 6611 Vehera Vittiya (A photostat of this is in the possession of K. Wāchissara).

ordained by himself, they were the Sāmaṇeras Vālivīṭṭa Sūriyagoḍa<sup>1</sup> and Vālivīṭṭa Saraṇāṅkara (junior) who lived at Sūriyagoḍa Vihāra and Gaḍalādeṇi Vihāra respectively. It appears that their being resident at such distant places prevented them from inquiring after his health and happiness. When he was old, the Dutch invaded Kandy on two occasions; then, not only the Nāyakas of the two monasteries but the king himself fled from Kandy, taking with them the Tooth Relic. None cared for the safety of the Saṅgharāja.

#### Rescue of the Saṅgharāja

At this time the Saṅgharāja was in a state of ill-health. He was eighty years old. The short poem entitled 'Vehera Vittiya'<sup>2</sup> describes that weakened by illness, advanced in age and deserted by all the Saṅgharāja lived in fear of the Dutch:-

kitsiri rajasīha rajapat kālē  
 gat avi rupusen purapat kālē  
 atāra siya pura himi vāḍi kālē  
 met kaḷa saṅgarāja biyavāda kōlē

In Kitsiri Rājasīḥa's reign  
 When enemy troops invaded Kandy,  
 And the king himself had left the city

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1. See Saṅgharāja's letter. Appendix No.3.  
 2. Ms. Or. 6611.

Saṅgharāja who practised Maitri was driven to fear and perplexity. While the Saṅgharāja was thus living alone and in fear a young monk named Kuṅkupāve Sumaṅgala came to him and wished to know the cause of his troubles. The Saṅgharāja then described his sorrowful situation thus:-

itin pihiṭṭa dān maṭṭa nāti veccī  
 sirura dirā dān jarapat veccī  
 ata paya dān mage savi nātiveccī  
 asū vayasa dān memaṭṭa piricci<sup>1</sup>

Helpless have I become now,  
 My physique decayed and subject to disease;  
 My limbs bereft of former strength,  
 Fourscore years have I lived complete.

denḍa ganḍa deyakut nātiveccī  
 sirura dirā dān jarapat veccī  
 ata paya dān mage savi nātiveccī  
 asū vayasa dān memaṭṭa piricci<sup>2</sup>

Nothing do I possess now,  
 My physique decayed and subject to disease;  
 My limbs bereft of former strength,  
 Fourscore years have I lived complete.

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1. Or. 6611 Vehera Vittiya.  
 2. Ibid.

kaṭu paḥaṇē mama kohomada yannē  
 ariṭu sihil nala koheda viñḍinnē  
 pavīṭu leḍak maṭa nibaṇḍa tibennē  
 tuṭukaḷa uvaṭān kavuda karannē.<sup>1</sup>

How can I walk on stones rough and thorn-like?

How can I brave the winds cold and cruel?

A disease chronic and miserable torments me;

Who will nurse, soothe and console me?

These lines amply illustrate the Saṅgharāja's condition at that time. What further evidence is necessary to prove that he was now eighty years old, suffering from a chronic illness, grief-stricken, bereft of all possessions and so helpless as to be even without anyone to attend on him?

While the Saṅgharāja thus remained in the monastery in fear and giving expression to such sad thoughts as these, Kuṅkupāve Thera went to his aid as is described below:-

mesē kiyā saṅgaraja āvidinavā  
 basē mihiri tepulak mama kīvā  
 kesē namut kara tiyāna yanavā  
 esē mesē samīḍuni nositanavā<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

As the Saṅgharāja walked (so with) speaking thus,

A sweet word to console him I said:

"Somehow on my shoulder will I bear you

Dispel such thoughts, Sir, as spring from loss of hope."

pasās sugat suta abas asannē  
 satoṣo sitinmaya muhuna balannē  
 venas kamak kaṣṣa hāṭṭimayi dannē  
 piriṣo nātato ada yamu tepalannē<sup>1</sup>

The Son of the Lord, hearing these words,

With Joyous heart did look me in the face.

He knew not but of the ingratitude to him

"Let's go today", he said "though not with retinue".

The Saṅgharāja, in his feeble state, was greatly delighted when Kuṅkupāve Thera offered to carry him on his shoulders. Seeing that others had neglected and deserted him, he set forth in the company of Kuṅkupāve. This alone should suffice to show that those who ill-treated the Saṅgharāja were not his enemies but the very people who enjoyed his protection. It is also clear that he had spent even his last days in the midst of a multitude of troubles. While the Saṅgharāja was being carried by Kuṅkupāve Thera, they encountered, in the

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1. Ms. Or. 6611. Vehera Vittiya.

jungles of Sūriyagoḍa, two wild elephants. This incident is thus mentioned in Vāhara Vittiya:-

ebas asā saṅgaraja satoṣinnē  
itin yaṇḍa yan kiyā vaḍinnē  
sūriyagoḍa vane pedesin yannē  
aliyō dennek piṁbagena ennē<sup>1</sup>

The Saṅgharāja gladdened by these words,

Said "let us now go", and proceeded.

Passing through the jungles of Sūriyagoḍa

They encountered two elephants who came blaring forth.

Kuṅkupāve Thera was a fearless monk with considerable presence of mind. What he did on seeing the elephants has been thus described:-

budda apin palayan pavasannē  
aliyō guguran epiṭa duvannē  
saṅgaraja sihisā madava vāṭennē  
sihi enakal mama etanama unnē<sup>2</sup>

"Go" said he "by virtue of the Blessed One's Powers,"

And trumpeting loud the elephants retreated.

Unconscious fell the Saṅgharāja to the ground;

Till he recovered I stayed beside.

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1. Ibid.

2. Ms. Or. 6611 Vehera Vittiya.



The elephants turned back, and retreated immediately on hearing the words "go by virtue of the Blessed One's powers" uttered by Kuṅkuṇāve. But, terrified by their appearance, the Saṅgharāja fell unconscious. Until he regained consciousness Kuṅkuṇāve remained there. It is customary among men even today to invoke the protection of the Triple Gem in time of danger. It is well known that in the past, people had great faith in the powers of the Triple Gem to ward off danger.

When the Saṅgharāja regained consciousness Kuṅkuṇāve carried him off to a temple at Māṇikdivela in Yaṭīnuvara and there he made inquiries about the movements of the Dutch. This is mentioned thus:-

etanin saṅgaraja nikma udēyā  
 nikma gosin yaṭīnuvara māḍēyā  
 māṇikdivela pansalaka iṇḍēyā  
 landesi toraturu asana saṇḍēyā<sup>1</sup>

The Saṅgharāja having thence departed  
 Arrived in the heart of Yaṭīnuvara  
 Took up residence in a temple at Māṇikdivela  
 And made enquiries concerning the Dutch.

Whilst thus engaged in making inquiries, the Saṅgharāja heard the roar of a Dutch cannon, became extremely terrified and requested Kuṅkuṇāve Thera as stated in the following stanza

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1. Ibid.

to take him away to Parapakūruva:-

dasa diga gugurana veḍi haṇḍa āsuvā  
 apoyi kiyā saṅgarāja aṇḍa gāsuvā  
 kuṅkupāve saṅga mā usulanavā  
 parapakūruvaṭa mā gena yanavā<sup>1</sup>

From the ten directions he heard cannon boom;  
 Frightened, the Saṅgharāja summoned me.  
 "Lift me up, Kuṅkupāve bhikkū" said he  
 "To Parapakūruva take me".

Kuṅkupāve was unable to comply with this request. The Saṅgharāja, nevertheless was not displeased thereby. As a mark of gratitude for the service rendered to him by Kuṅkupāve he bequeathed to him the temple known as Vāllāgala. The following stanza mentions it:-

ēkaṭṭa aḍa mama demi vāllāgala  
 mā laṅga siṭṭiyaṭa demi vāllāgala  
 liyamin kiyamin demi vāllāgala  
 demi dunnemi obaṭṭama vāllāgala<sup>2</sup>

For this I give today Vāllāgala  
 For being with me I give Vāllāgala  
 With documents I give Vāllāgala  
 I give and did give you Vāllāgala.

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1. See-Ch.I. Ms. Vāḷḷaṅga Vāḷḷāgala.  
 2. SRV. p.181.

Kuṅkuṇāve bhikkū<sup>h</sup>, the author of these verses which describe the pitiable condition of the Saṅgharāja, was a resourceful, fearless person. This short series of verses, composed with the object of obtaining for himself a vihāra from king Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṅha<sup>1</sup> is not entirely free from doubtful points. The Dutch invaded Kandy in the years 1765 and 1766. It is not possible that the Saṅgharāja could have been more than about 67 years of age at that time; hence his age as given in these verses is questionable. The view held by some that the Tooth Relic was taken to Uḍa Dumbara <sup>a</sup>long with the Saṅgharāja is absolutely incorrect. That the Tooth Relic was taken to Uḍa Dumbara by Nāvinne Nāyaka Thera of Asgiriya Vihāra in order to protect it from the Dutch invaders is revealed in a document of which this Thera himself was the author.<sup>2</sup> Mention is made therein of other bhikkū<sup>h</sup>s who went along with Nāvinne Thera, but the absence of any reference to the Saṅgharāja is a clear indication of the fact that he never went. By this time the Dutch had been accustomed to threaten the Kandyan kings and to make invasions of the hill country from time to time.<sup>3</sup> There is therefore no reason to doubt that this invasion took place in the Saṅgharāja's 80th year.

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1. Saṅgharāja Cariteya. Vekhera Vittiya.

2. Ibid. 20. 63. 181-184.

3. See Ch. I.

The life of Vālivīṭa Sarapaṅkara, which was so marked by peaceful revolutions, was now approaching its end.

devana saṅḍak men saṅgaraja sasun nāmati nuṁba talayaṭa  
pāmiṇa tavus taru pitivara gena ḍam rās oda vāḍikoṭa  
pamaṇa novana yasa suvaṇḍin ḍasadiga eka suvaṇḍak koṭa  
nuvara asū avuruddak dāhāmin sāpasē vāda siṭa<sup>1</sup>

Saṅgaraja like a second moon in the skies of Sāsana  
appeared,

Surrounded by monks, star-like, the doctrine of rays  
improved;

He, with boundless fame of fragrance made the ten  
directions entirely  
scented,

and lived eighty years happily in the city.

As has been mentioned by Muṅkoṭuve Rāla, a contemporary poet, Vālivīṭa Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja who had rendered great service for the promotion of Buddhism was now 80 years old. At this time he often became ill. It is said that three days before the full moon day of the month of Asaṭa in the year 1778 the Saṅgharāja was told in a dream by an unknown man:-

vārē-vārē-vārē

gaṇita guḍan daku vārē

gamanak āta ema vārē  
yanavāmayi tira sārē<sup>1</sup>

Three days from today,  
The day when drummers will beat the usual rhythmic sounds,  
A journey is due that day,  
Which most certainly will be made.

The next day the Ven. Saṅgharāja wrote this verse on a piece of palm leaf, showed it to King Kīrti Śrī and explained it to him in the following words:-

"The Asaḷa full-moon falls due three days hence. On that day will commence the Asaḷa Perahāra with the ceremonial beating of drums to the usual rhythmic sounds. A journey is due to be performed that day without fail. It is none other than my journey to the next world".<sup>2</sup>

Three days passed and the Asaḷa full-moon day came. The Ven. Saṅgharāja had his midday meal and towards evening went to his bathroom with the purpose of preparing to leave for his forest hermitage at Hantāne where he had intended to observe the Retreat (rainy season).<sup>3</sup> In the bath-room he developed signs of serious illness; so he returned to his residence and

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1. Saṅgharāja Caritaya. p. 52.  
2. Ibid.  
3. SSC. p. 40.

lay on the bed, having taken a dose of medicine. Soon it became obvious to all present that his condition was very serious and Saṅghādhara Guparatana There began to preach a sermon for the Saṅgharāja's benefit. In the course of the sermon the Saṅgharāja passed away, having attained the age of 80 years and half a month.<sup>1</sup>

The Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyā records that he lived 81 years. But the incorrectness of this can be easily seen from other facts recorded in this work itself. It states that he was born in the month of Poson in the year 1620 of the Saka Era and died on the full-moon day of the month of Kasaḷa in the year 1700 of the Saka Era. It is apparent that the intervening period was 80 years and half a month.

Those who lamented the death of the Saṅgharāja were not only his pupil monks but King Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha, his Adikāraṃs and other members of the public too were deeply moved by it. The King, with the assistance of his ministers, caused a richly decorated funeral pyre to be built in the premises of Ampīṭṭiya Vihāra to which was brought the remains of the prelate.<sup>2</sup> The pyre was set on fire after pāṃsukūla robes<sup>3</sup> were donated to the bhikkhus of the two Vihāras who had assembled there. Seven

1. SRV. v.194.

2. SSC. p.40.

3. Robes offered to the Saṅgha, at the funeral ceremony to transfer the merits to the departed one.

days later, King Kīrti Śrī had an alms-giving ceremony for the transference of merit to the dead prelate and then caused a Chetiya to be built at Ampīṭiya in which was deposited the ashes. This is known as Saṅgharāja Chetiya.<sup>1</sup>

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1. SSC. p.42.

CHAPTER XIVThe Buddhist Renaissance

Although the Buddhist Church established by Mahinda Thera fell into decay from time to time, the real threat came from the Portugese.<sup>1</sup> Then considering the history of the Buddhist Church since the advent of the Portugese one would imagine that it could not be restored again. A consideration of this fact would enable one to estimate the real value of the services rendered by Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja.

Though Parākramabāhu VI. was a great Buddhist king during whose time the Buddhist Church prospered, it is also true that it prospered more at the time of Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja. During the reigns of Nimaladharmasūrya I and Wimaladharmasūrya II. the Higher Ordination was restored and the things were set for the advancement of the Sāsana.<sup>2</sup> But this revival did not last long, as there were no safeguards for the future and very soon decayed. Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja having realised this after the establishment of the Higher Ordination took the necessary steps to bring the two Fraternities to normal.

Asgiriya

Malvatu and Asgiri are two of the oldest Vihāras of

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1. See Ch. III.

2. Siṃhala Vimāna Vastu Prakaraṇaya. p.244.



the Siamese Sect, Asgiri being the oldest one. It is supposed to be the centre of the Forest Dwellers (Vanavāsi). This seems to be true when we consider its original place. The original place of the bhikkhus who came from 'Acchagiri'<sup>1</sup> at Daṁbadeṇiya, and settled down in Kandy, was known as 'Asgiriya.' It seems clear that the term 'Hayagiriya' for this is quite inappropriate. It was the Pāli term 'Acchagiri' which became 'Asgiri' and not 'Hayagiri'. This Vihāra was situated in the place where Trinity College stands today. The mother of Vikramabāhu of Kandy was cremated in the graveyard belonging to this temple.<sup>2</sup> He helped to develop the Asgiri Vihāra. The seat of this temple was removed to the present site, when the town of Kandy was expanding. The Novice Golahānvatte Dhammadassi, who resided at Asgiriya Vihāra during the time of Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera was a shining figure.<sup>3</sup> When the Ceylonese monks were taken to have the Higher Ordination conferred on them by the Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera at Malvatta, there was a separate temple for the Asgiriya bhikkhus at a place adjoining Malvatta known as Tiṅgolvela. After the restoration of the Higher Ordination, the Saṅgharāja had a sīmā created for the Asgiriya temple by the Siamese monks.

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1. The Mahā Vihāra Vaṃsa of Sunanda Thera states that the Bhikkhus of Yāpahu had come and settled down at Asgiriya.
  2. At present this is known by the name of 'Ādāhana Maluva'.
  3. Ms. Kuśalakriyānu Sandeśaya (Vilbāgedara)

King Kīrti Srī with the advice of the Saṅgharāja, appointed Urulāvatte Dhammasiddhi as the first Mahā<sup>ṛāyaka</sup> of this Sect.<sup>1</sup> The graveyard (Ādāhana Maluva) is the oldest place belonging to the Asgiri Vihāra. Twelve years after the ordination of the Saṅgharāja, the bhikkhus of the Asgiri temple held the first ordination ceremony. Since then it became an annual feature.

### Malvatta

Though Malvatta is regarded as a separate institution today, it is a branch of the Asgiriya temple. The monks who vacated Asgiriya dwelt at the temple of Hantāne. Some monks, who were the descendents of them, lived later on at the Pōyamalu temple built by King Vikramabāhu.<sup>2</sup> It was after the time of the Saṅgharaja that the Malvatta became a Temple. Until that period it was regarded as a dwelling place for the foreign monks who visited the island from time to time.<sup>3</sup>

### Dhammikārāmaya

The bhikkus who came from Rakkhaṅga as well as those who came from Siam with Upāli Thera, resided at Malvatta. King Kitsiri, having built the dwelling houses for the bhikkhus, converted this into a Vihāra, and later sīmā was restored following the establishment of the higher ordination by Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera. Originally this was known as

1. SSC. (Ed. Sannasgala) p.15.

2. See Ch. I.

3. SUV. (Ed. Pragnātisya) p.36.

'Dhammikārāmaya'.<sup>1</sup> It was king Dhārmika of Siam who helped to bring the ordained monks from that country. It may be that it was in his honour that this name was given to the Vihāra, since it was situated in the royal park (Malvatta), it became known by the name of <sup>u</sup>Pśāpārāmaya or Malvatu Vihāra. Tibboṭuvāve Sṛī Siddhārtha Buddharaksita Thera was the first Mahānāyaka of this temple.<sup>2</sup> For the benefit of his pupils as well as the monks coming for ordination, Saṅgharāja bequeathed king Kītsirī to build dwelling houses.<sup>3</sup>

Sri Wikramarājasiṃha the last king of Kandy, wanted to remove the Vihāra to Bōgambara, but had to abandon this idea as a result of a protest by the monks of the Malvatta Sect.<sup>4</sup> Although the monks of the Asgiriya Sect trace the origin of Malvatta to the Asgiriya Vihāra, the popular belief is that the modern centre of the Buddhist clergy is Malvatta. The fact that it was founded by the Saṅgharāja and that it was honoured by the kings and nobles, both foreign and indigenous may be taken as evidence.

It was Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja who took over this from the Gaṇanāyaka novices. It was Pōyamalu - Asgiri Viharas that was

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1. Ms. Kuśalekṛīyaṇu Sandeśaya.

2. SSC. p.15.

3. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya

4. Mss. Report Part I, p.48.

changed to Malvatu-Asgiri Vihāras, the centres of the Buddhist church in Ceylon today. King Kīrtisrī donated Ṭiṅgolvela for the monks residing in both these vihāras. When king Sri Vikrama Rājasīṃha wanted to turn Ṭiṅgolvela into the Kandy lake, he donated paddy fields from Gampola as a substitute for that. The store house, built to keep paddy obtained from these fields, still remains. It was as an easy device, to divide these fields belonging to eighty monks of the Malvatta and Asgiri Sects, that a committee consisting of twenty monks was established.<sup>1</sup> This came into existence after the year 1893, and as a result, a large number of novices attained the ordination through these two vihāras annually.

### Principles

The Saṅgharāja realised the fact that the sāsaṇa would not flourish merely by annual ordination ceremonies. He wanted the monks to lead virtuous lives in accordance with the rules laid down by the Teacher. With the help of king Kīrti Sri Rājasīṃha he set out a code of rules, a 'Katikāvata',<sup>2</sup> for the monks' guidance. This was largely influenced by 'Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata'. This shows the evil practices which should be given up by a monk as well as the qualities required of a novice at the time of attaining the Higher Ordination. It

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1. The method of the present day executive committee did not exist during the time of Saṅgharāja.

2. Kīrti Sri Rājasīṃha Katikāvata (Katikāvat Saṅgarāva)

brought about an improvement in the priesthood throughout the entire country.

Prior to this, only a few wealthy people who were looking after the temples and their relations received the ordination.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this Katikāvata, Saṅgharāja made it possible for every one to attain the ordination. During the early period of the establishment of the ordination, caste was not considered at all. Among the monks who received the ordination from the Siamese Theras, were bhikkhus belonging to different castes.<sup>2</sup> Owing to incidents which happened later caste entered again into the Sāsana. For not taking sufficient preventive measures against this abuse the Saṅgharāja is also blamed.

#### Annual Ordination

The Higher Ordination brought from Rakkhaṅga did not last long because the monks who attained the ordination failed to take sufficient interest.<sup>3</sup> They must have regarded it merely as a licence to protect temples and relations. If they continued to hold the Higher Ordination ceremony it would have been unnecessary for the Saṅgharāja to take pains to bring the ordination from Siam again. Saṅgharāja was not satisfied with his ordination only. Twelve years later he held an ordination

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1. See Ch. III.

2. Sāsanaṅvatīrṇa Varṇanāva p.21.

3. See Ch. III.

ceremony and afterwards made it an annual feature.<sup>1</sup> He proclaimed within 'Sīmā' in the important temples throughout the country and made necessary arrangements for 'Vinaya Karma'. Saṅgharāja set out a code of rules and distributed it among the monks so that they might lead good lives.<sup>2</sup> The following is the set of rules which goes under the name 'Saṅgharājānu-sāsanāva'.<sup>3</sup>

"So long as my pupils descend from generation to generation I admonish them thus:-

"Knowing in particular the two extremes unworthy of bhikkhus which the Buddha declared in his first sermon after attaining <sup>lighten</sup>en~~better~~ment namely: the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta commencing with 'Dve me bhikk<sup>h</sup>ave' etc. (There are two extremes Oh, bhikkus), unattached to material desires and sexual desires, always mindful of the four niśrayas (requisites) referred to in the admonition delivered when you were ordained, keeping aloof from the four abstentions (akaraṇīya dhamma) referred to at the same instant, recollecting the stanzas 'Kikīva - repeat - dhanam ca je - repeat - Ca je - naro dhamma manussaranto, observing them more dearly than life itself, after learning by hearing and seeing and given in detail the sevenfold commission of errors. If one of the four major errors is

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1. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvāliya.

2. SSC. p.15.

3. See Appendix 4.

committed by some misfortune, it must be confessed openly to one who is conversant with the Vinaya rules. If then it is found that a major offence has been really committed he should not remain among the bhikkhus but aspire to realise nirvāṇa by observing the tenfold precept as a sāmaṇera or a lay devotee, rather than to go completely astray. You may have seen thus in the 'Aṅguttara Aṭṭvā'. If a grave offence is committed it must be confessed to those who are conversant with the Vinaya and should not possess many things. The other precepts too must be observed as there indicated.

Take for example the Mahā Thera who dwelt one extra day in the Thūpārama and set forth for another Vihāra. He went out begging for alms with a friend just as a bird does, as simplicity should be cultivated.

Delighting in the virtues of 'wishing little' and 'contentment' taught in the Dasa Dhamma Sūtra, Karāṇiya metta Sūtra and Dhamma Dāyāda Sūtra. Be attached to the Four Aparihāniyā<sup>a</sup> Dhammas (qualities preventing one from downfall). Being soft in manners, holding fast to the admonitions detailed by Sāriputta Thera in 'Tadahu pabbajito - repeat - sampati-chāmi muddhanā' to cultivate the ninefold virtue referred to in Ratnāvali as declared before the Buddha, causing the earth to quake. Observing the virtues thus described in various

books, pay enough attention to grammar which is very useful to the Dhamma texts and the establishment of Buddhism; learning obediently without finding out the faults of the teacher. Without trying to reserve that knowledge to thyself but teaching it to capable pupils, disregarding their faults and with the idea of service to others, you should practise the virtues in accordance with the doctrine and <sup>be</sup> mindful of the next birth.

The Cīvara Ariyavaṃsa by wearing paṃsukūḷa robes; the piṇḍapāta Ariyavaṃsa by going from house to house begging for food as taught in 'Uttitṭhe nappamajjeyya, the Senāsana Ariyanvaṃsa by dwelling under trees in the forest, the bhāvana Ariyavaṃsa appearing in 'Ariyanvaṃsa Sūtra Aṭṭvā, Visuddhi Mārga, Pratipatti Saṅgraha, Vimukthi Saṅgraha' etc. as taught in 'Idha bhikkhave bhikku araṇṇiagatovā' etc. These four Ariyavaṃsas should be observed with great love and should always be taken as a guide in the doctrine preached in the Visuddhi Mārga.

The Buddha sāsaṇa was hitherto defiled by the greediness, pride and laziness of monks who cared not for the next birth. "May my beloved pupils make the Buddha Sāsana shine with these virtues of 'wishing little' modesty and the fourfold right effort and be prepared for death with an unpuzzled mental state in order to definitely see the Maitreya Buddha. This



admonition was sent to you by your beloved father the Saṅgharāja - May my beloved pupils who wish to attain Nivāṇa look at this as if they were in my presence."

#### A Memorandum

There were two sections that went to the southern part of Ceylon after the Siamese Ordination. They were the Vēhālla generation and the Mūkirigala generation. Vēhālla Dhamadinna Thera lived very close to the Saṅgharāja and after learning the Dhamma from him was even honoured by the King. His teacher was Siṭṭinā<sup>m</sup>āluve Thera, the right-hand disciple of the Saṅgharāja. It was Vaṭaraggoda Dhammapāla, the leader of the Mūkirigala generation, who could not associate with the Saṅgharāja for a considerable length of time. As he was living far away from Kandy the Saṅgharāja sent him a special memorandum<sup>1</sup> detailing the religious practices. It reads thus:-

"These are the duties that were declared to the monk Vaṭaraggoda, a son (pupil) of the Buddha who first became a pupil of ours and then became a son (pupil) of the Buddha, for the sake of acquiring wellbeing in this world and in the next.

All newly joined monks should be made to learn by heart the text called 'Herapa Sikkha'. They should also be made to

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1. This is <sup>in</sup> the possession of the Government Archivist, Vuvara Eliya.

grasp the way to observe discipline in a fortified manner as declared in the text called 'Herapa Sikha Vinisa'. They should also be instructed on matters concerning lapses in discipline and the disasters that follow such lapses; concerning the way they should attend upon the matters of their teachers, and also making them learn by heart those things that should be learnt, and explaining the rest of the difficult points, one should make them observe the way of life designed for new recruits to the order, as declared in 'Herapa Sikha'.

Excepting monks who are really incapable, the rest should be made to learn by heart, completely, the code of discipline (Prāti mokṣaya); they should be made to learn it, together with explanatory notes and should be questioned regarding its meaning. They should be trained to dispel their doubts in matters of discipline by referring to the text called Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi and as these precepts are found in texts called Parijī and Pacitī, they should be guided to acquire knowledge regarding those precepts together with the tales that occur in those two texts. And again they should be made to learn by heart either 'Kudū Sikha', Mulu Sikha' or Sikkhāvalaṅkāraṇa and be questioned regarding their meaning. They should also be questioned on the substance of the three books, namely Cūlavarga, Mahāvarga, Parivārapāṭha and also on other

texts and explanatory notes that are conducive to discipline.

And they should also acquire important facts from texts that are in Ceylon and from those that are brought from foreign countries and train monks who have become pupils of the Elder Vaṇṇaraggoda, on matters of discipline such as the first act of conviction; second act of conviction, fourth act of conviction, act of securing consent in establishment of *śīmā*, the act of Pavāraṇa and Uposatha and also such Vinaya acts as *Mānatta* and *abbāhana* refrain from instructing them on modes of acquiring wealth. The lay disciples, *mudaliyars*, devotees and the good people in the country should also be instructed regarding the manner in which the religion should be protected. The Tripitaka should be written down and kept in a safe place.

In the meantime, the way in which the Buddhist Order is prevailing is also to be reflected upon. Moreover all new recruits to the Order and all the disciples of the Buddha should be made to learn, together with explanatory notes, the chapter entitled *Śīla Nirdeśaya* appearing in the *Viśuddhimārga* and instructed on disciplinary behaviour as given in the four-fold way of good restraint, found in the text called *Viśuddhimārga*. Furthermore they should also be made to read the section called *Dhutāṅga Nirdeśaya* included in the text called *Viśuddhimārga* and should explain to them the two-fold

ascetic practice referring to clothes, the five-fold practice referring to begging of alms, the five-fold practice referring to the use of beds chairs etc. the single practice referring to sitting that deals with the presence of constant effort in meditation.

This explaining the thirteen-fold ascetic practice, together with the merit that follows such practices, that are also mentioned by Nāgasena in the 'Milinda Pañha' where it also refers to the disaster that will befall, if these practices are carried out for the sake of gain. One or more of the thirteen practices, divided into three parts called lower, middle and uppermost, should be adhered to, until life ceases even to the end of time by a devoted/<sup>young</sup> monk in this period of a birth of the Buddha. Thus one should discipline his pupils by instructing them in ascetic practices.

One should bring his pupils under strict discipline by limiting their topics of discussion to matters conducive to the attainment of Nibbāna, such discussion referring to lack of desire for much wealth etc. discussion referring to pleasant topics and also to simplicity, solitude and association; and prohibiting discussion dealing with mean topics which are obstacles for the attainment of final release. Thus relating Jātakas and similar stories dealing with the three-fold Enlightenment and in each manner acquiring devotion, being alert

on the study of texts, and also on meditation centred upon giving true insight. If anything is to be offered to parents and other relatives, it should be done according to the way laid down in the 'Pāli Muttaka Vinaya'.

They should specially be instructed on sorrows caused by giving out of affection, being employed in improper places and defiling of family; being unattached to the family and group, being free from addition to much gain, without being bent on gaining requisites other than the twelve requisites needed, and knowing the three-fold pleasure brought about according to power, gain and nature; not using vehicles unless one is really unable to walk; not using high seats, except the pulpit and using one's own bowl except when instructing not to accept silver, gold and such other improper gifts; understanding that a monk cannot make an improper gift look proper even when offered by another monk; and a gift is really proper only when a layman offers what is suitable to be offered; knowing also that a monk cannot enjoy a gift gained contrary to the accepted code of discipline, and also instructing on the way one should accept and refuse gifts such as lands, monastries, pleasure gardens, fields, servants, bulls, buffaloes etc.

Also instructing on the way of forbearance and intolerance as laid down in the Pāli Muttaka and also specially

teaching what devoted good men who fear the saṃsāric existence, who fear sin and who also have gained fortune for the attainment of Nibbāna, in this period of birth of the Buddha, should practice various virtues, such as discussion only matters centered upon such topics as lack of desire for much etc. etc. as occurring in Mahā Āryavaṃsa Sūtra, Dharmadāyāda Sūtra, Dasa Dhamma Sūtra, Karaṇīya Metta Sutta.

Having, through purification, acquired everlasting discipline and ordination in the order of the Buddha, which is really difficult to be obtained etc. etc. Thus by such sayings one should bring under strict discipline, the gathering monks. Alas, in this period, such ascetics have not come into being; for some reason or other there has not been a person capable of imparting advice and thus in this period the Buddhist Order has become defiled owing to lack of study of texts and religious conduct. The Buddhist Order will last for 2689 years more. The only way of attaining Nibbāna has been slackened. Will the Sons (pupils) of the Buddha who have entered the Order with the only wish of attaining Nibbāna, allow the study of texts and religious conduct to go into oblivion?

Do they not know the majestic power of the merits of the All Knowing Lord Buddha who is their own father, who had acquired heaps of merit through aspiration since he set his

heart on realization? Thus one should bring under discipline his followers (the monks) who without slackening rules and ways of the Order of the Buddha, illuminate the order by the Canon and conduct, and also pay more attention to their own wish to the attaining of final release; to the attainment of Nibbāna of the people who in various places proclaim that gems of monks have appeared resembling a cluster of stars following the full moon (namely the Buddha) in the sky in the form of the Order of the Buddha, which bring about the fulfilment of the desires of all gods and men and which even is more effective than the wish yielding gem, the auspicious wish yielding pot or the wish yielding Tree.

Thus illuminating the Order in the future, may you offer merits to one who is the father-like teacher and also to His Majesty our King, who helped very much to re-establish the Order of Buddha."

Thus was written by Saṅgharāja and sent.

The very pupils of Vālivīṭṭa Sarapaṅkara Thera seem to have ridiculed the good virtues which he cultivated out of sheer compassion for the common folk. Some of his pupils led the life of aristocrats in the company of ministers and royalty. Beside these were those who closely followed his footsteps, cultivating good virtues such as begging for food and always following his

good advice; while many bhikkhus who lived in leading towns did not listen to his admonitions but those who went to distant places followed them carefully. As is evident from the Sandesa (letter) sent to Vaṭṭaraggoda Thera the bhikkhus who went to the Southern part of Ceylon, and followed his advice continued therein very well. Letters of this nature to pupils show clearly that he had fear in his heart that the Buddhist religion which he established with the greatest difficulty would again perish.

#### Service to Education

The virtuous bhikkhus will last only as long as there is a good knowledge of the doctrine and other studies. Knowing this secret himself Vāḷiviṭṭa Saṅgharāja Thera became the pioneer of the awakening of education today. Muṅkoṭṭuve Rāla describes it as follows:-

Many a citizen of great wisdom, at the feet of this Thera  
Entered the ocean of knowledge in a ship like wisdom  
Exponents of Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese, Logic and  
Grammar

Spread throughout the country wherever there were pupils  
to learn<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the Saṅgharāja there were only a few learned men. They had not the learning that was necessary to comprehend



the meaning of a stanza such as 'Vidvāneva vijānāti'.<sup>1</sup> etc. Since the Saṅgharāja commenced his service to religion simultaneously with his educational activities, he was able to make great progress in both spheres. The educational activities started by him in Niyamakanda School made great headway as time passed by. As a result many other schools arose as they did in the Asgiriya and Malvatta Vihāras.<sup>2</sup> Saddharma Tilaka Vihāraya was another notable place of learning established by the Saṅgharāja.<sup>3</sup> Many a pupil who learned the doctrine discipline, grammar and languages under him went to various places in Ceylon and imparted their knowledge to many students, laymen and clergy.

#### Writing of Books

At that time there were insufficient books for pupils to learn. Many books on Dhamma, which had become lost to the island were brought from Siam <sup>and</sup> written in Sinhalese script. They were written in Cambodian characters so that the bhikkhus who copies them had to learn Cambodian characters. Buddhist monks such as Daramiṭṭipola Dhammarakkhita were engaged in copying ola leaf books.<sup>4</sup> These books are of immense benefit and value even in modern times. The king presented to the Saṅgharāja a

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1. SSC. p.7.

2. See Ch. XI.

3. Gaḍalādepi Sannasa.

4. Ms. Rasavāhiṇī Tīkā (Colophon) Colombo Museum.

paper book which he received from the Dutch, in which he wrote a section of the Visuddhimārga.<sup>1</sup> The Saṅgharāja who did not stop at this invited all the bhikkhus of both Asgiriya and Malvatta Vihāras to Malvatta and there in the meeting room they compiled the Vinaya Pitaka together with the paraphrases.<sup>2</sup>

### Sanna Books

For the benefit of those who did not know Pāli and therefore could not read and understand the Tripiṭaka he caused sanna (Paraphrase) books to be written by his learned pupils<sup>3</sup>. It was during this period that Sanna books were written for many of the more popular discourses (sūtra) belonging to the Sūtra Piṭaka of the Tripiṭaka. A special characteristic in some is 'Cūrpikā' to make them suitable for twin seated sermons.

### Preachers of The Dhamma

The Saṅgharāja performed yet another great service by training lecturers in Dhamma. His determined efforts to establish a system of genuine religious sermons and to get rid of the preaching of false doctrine by ignorant bhikkhus who misled the people for the sake of their living, were fruitful at last.<sup>4</sup> The Saṅgharāja trained bhikkhus who were capable of

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1. This book is available at Vēliviṭa temple of Malvatta.

2. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya.

3. SSC. p.37.

4. SSC. p.33.

preaching even in the presence of the kings. Even in modern times, this system of preaching is very popular. There are many instances where the pupils of the Saṅgharāja preached sermons before Sinhalese kings and received land as a token of their appreciation.<sup>1</sup>

### Progress in Religious Sites

Sarapaṅkara Thera's service to religion did not cease there. It is a wellknown fact that he renovated ruined Vihāras. It was the Saṅgharāja who advised Ilupāṅgamuve Thera to clear the ruins of the eight sacred spots in Anurādhapura that had been neglected for centuries.<sup>2</sup> When the Saṅgharāja was living in Niyanakanda school in his sāmaṇera days the king offered him the Saddharmatī<sup>ak</sup> Vihāra of Gaḍalādepiya, a venerated place of worship in Ceylon. The Saṅgharāja worked hard to improve the place and then handed it over to a grandson of his by the name of Vālivita Sarapaṅkara. In the same manner he improved many a Vihāra such as Gaṅgārāmaya, Ridi Vihāra and Daṁbulla and handed them over to his pupils. He had the work in the Degaldoruva Vihāra completed by Devaragampola Silvat Tāna and transformed it into a most attractive place of religious worship.

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1. See Koratoṭa Vata.

2. SSC. p.37.

CHAPTER XVEcclesiastical ServiceSaṅgharāja's PupilsTibbotuyāve Sṛī Siddhārtha Buddharakkhita

The responsibility of safeguarding Buddhism, a creed expected to last for five thousand years, fell on the Buddhist Clergy. "As long as the number of well disciplined monks are on the increase, Buddhism will flourish. The deterioration of such order of monks and the resultant rise of evil monks will undoubtedly bring the downfall of that religion."<sup>1</sup> In the decadent age of Kandy what the bhikkhus mostly cared about were the lands and properties but not Buddhism itself. Only for this purpose, did they ordain pupils. As they were not interested in the welfare of the Buddhist order each monk ordained only one pupil.<sup>2</sup> He too was a close relation of the monk.

Vāḷiviṭṭa Saṅgharāja was not influenced by this traditional weakness. He followed the ecclesiastical principles and ordained a large number of pupils for the long survival of the Buddhist order. Apart from that, he did not allow them to follow the evil conduct of their predecessors and

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1. Anguttara Nikāya - Aṭṭhakanipāṭa - Pahārāda Sutta.

2. See Ch. III.

educated them in Dhamma and Vinaya of the Buddhist Church and also in literature.<sup>1</sup>

Saṅgharāja's pupils can be divided into two categories. The pupils of the first category were those ordained and educated by him and subsequently appointed as incumbents of temples, and the second category were those who studied Dhamma and literature and propagated them in the rural areas. The first and foremost pupil to be ordained and educated by the Saṅgharāja was Tibboṭuvāve Buddharakkita, Muṅkoṭuve Rāla states it as follows:-

He who did not violate the tenets of Buddhism as  
those in line of Sāriputra  
And memorised Buddhist Doctrine first of all  
Was Siddhārtha of Tibboṭuvāva, the noble monk  
He was the chief pupil of the Saṅgharāja, the  
intelligent.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the foregoing stanza, Tibboṭuvāva Thera can be considered as the first pupil of the Saṅgharāja. This therā was robed by the Saṅgharāja and his versatility and authorship made him second to none but the Saṅgharāja. The day Upasampadā was established in Ceylon by the Siamese monks led by Upāli, Tibboṭuvāva obtained the Higher Ordination.<sup>2</sup> It

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1. SRV. v.181.

2. SUV. pp. 37.

is said that he read the messages sent by the Siamese king to Ceylon, amidst a great crowd including Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha, the King of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

Although Kobbākaḍḍuve Thera had been the most senior monk in the Malvatta monastery at that time, in regard to doctrinal knowledge and discipline, Tibboṭuvāve Thera surpassed him, and all others. As such he was considered to be the most qualified monk for the post of Mahānāyaka in the Malvatta Sect, after the establishment of the Upasampadā.<sup>2</sup> King Kīrti Śrī, by presenting the fan, the insignia for the Mahānāyaka post, requested Tibboṭuvāva Thera to protect the Buddhist Order in Ceylon. This has been described in the Mandārapura Puvata thus:-

Clever in languages, grammar and Tri Piṭaka, the words  
of Buddha,

Was the noble and illustrious monk of Tibboṭuvāva  
Having offered the valuable fan with respect,  
The king said these words with veneration.

Two thousand four hundred great monasteries in Tri  
Sīṃhala,

Together with the noble post of deputy Saṅgharāja  
And the Mahā Nāyaka-ship of the Malvatta monastery,

I offer thee;

Please accept them and protect Buddhism in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup>

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1. SV. p.35.

2. SSC. p.15.

3. MPP vv. 718, 719.

As mentioned in the second verse, it can be considered that the post of Mahā Nāyaka, conferred on Siddhārta Buddharakkita Thera was identical with the post of deputy Saṅgharāja. Mahā Nāyaka's post and the deputy Saṅgharāja's post of the Asgiriya monastery were conferred on Urulāvatta Thera.<sup>1</sup> One of these two deputy Saṅgharājas was to succeed the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon. Accordingly, Tibboṭuvāve Thera had the necessary qualifications to become the next Saṅgharāja but he died before the death of Vāliviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara, the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon.

Tibboṭuvāve Mahā Nāyaka Thera is said to be the most educated pupil of the Saṅgharāja. To his credit stands a number of literary compositions. Sī Saddharmāvavādasāṅgraha was composed by this Mahā Nāyaka Thera by illustrating 'satthā' one of the nine virtues of Buddha, and in this work he has closely followed 'Sārārtha Saṅgraha' written by his venerable teacher, Vāliviṭṭa Sarapaṅkara, the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> This book includes ethical instructions necessary for an ordinary layman and has described certain portions extracted from the Buddhist doctrine. Although this is more voluminous than Sārārtha Saṅgraha in style, this is inferior to the latter.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Urulāvatte Dhammasiddhi - SSC. p.15.

2. Colophon to Saddharmāvavāda Saṅgraha.

3. Edited by W.J. Wapigasekara and Peter de Silva Liyanage in 1925.

Even today this book is of great use to the monks and the Buddhist laymen in remote areas of Ceylon.

Tibboṭuvāve Mahā Nāyake is reputed as a Pāli scholar too. The last part of Cūlavamsa, written by him in Pāli verse narrates the history of Ceylon from the time of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Kurupāgala up to King Kīrti Śrī Rājasin̄ha of Kandy. This undoubtedly is a difficult task. This work reveals his historical knowledge as well as his erudition in Pāli together with his ability in poetic composition.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this, he has written a number of other books and of these Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta Sanna, Sadharmopāyana Sanna and Syāmapasampadā Vata are of great literary value. Syāmapasampadā Vata,<sup>2</sup> written to give a detailed account of the introduction of Upasampadā from Siam is useful as a source of Ceylon history and it gives a vivid description of the upasampadā ceremony and the religious services of Kīrti Śrī Rājasin̄ha. It was considered to be an important historical work of Tibboṭuvāve Nāyaka Thera.

He had a number of pupils. One of them was Kaṭuvela Sobhita who wrote the Bālapaṇḍita Sūtra Sanna. This Thera improved the cave of Panaliya and the Vihāras of Kumburumulla, Moratiha Vāḷḷigala and Moragala. Having renovated the Ridi Vihāra, the Thera formulated a code of rules for its ad-

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1. SSC. p.18.

2. Edited by Māgallagoda Pragñātisya Nāyaka Thera in 1948.



ministration and handed it over along with the other pupils to his chief pupil Polpitigama Siddhārtha.<sup>1</sup>

This great prelate was alleged to have involved in the Malvatta conspiracy against Kīrti Śrī Rājasinha, and was imprisoned.<sup>2</sup> But he was subsequently acquitted. Saṅgharāja was still alive when Tibboṭuvāva Thera died in the Malvatta Temple. The king himself looked after the arrangements of the Thera's funeral ceremony.<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>Brījāla Śrī Sarapaṅkara, the present Mahā Nāyaka Thera of the Malvatta Chapter is a descendent of Tibboṭuvāve Siddhārtha Buddharakkhita, the 1st Mahānāyaka of Ceylon.

Dharamiṭṭipola Dhammarakkita

When Sarapaṅkara was a novice, this monk associated with him and thus was educated in Dhamma and Vinaya. That he was considered to have been the second pupil of the Saṅgharāja, has been stated in the following verse:-

When the ocean of the doctrine was churned,  
There came up, like the moon in virtues, endowed with  
ecstasies

The Chief high monk, Damrakita by name

Who is a second pupil of the great Saṅgharāja.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ms. Kuśalakriyāṇu Sandeśaya.

2. SAV. p.24.

3. SSC. p.19.

4. SRV. v. 182.

It is undoubtedly accepted that while Buddharakṣita Thera was the first pupil, Dhammarakkhita was the second. This Thera who was equally versed in the Pāli grammar as in composing poetry, was quite helpful in accelerating the great revival of religion and literature initiated by the Saṅgharāja, by getting old manuscripts transcribed.<sup>1</sup> This pupil who was brought to him when he was sojourning in the seven kōrales, was after ordination quite busy spreading religious and literary studies in the Kurupāgala district. It was this same Thera who composed the majority of messages which messengers to Siam carried with them on their errand to bring the higher ordination (Upasampadā).

When the Siamese monks headed by Upāli Thera, came to Ceylon and established the higher ordination, he too obtained higher ordination and instructed many pupils in the Dhamma. This Thera transcribed<sup>2</sup> in Sinhalese characters the religious text books kept in the Camboja characters which were brought from Siam and was appointed Mahānāyaka of the Malvatta Fraternity in succession to Mādevela Ananda Thera. He had many ecclesiastics as pupils, including Gammulle Ratanapāla who translated the Vimānavastuprakarapa into Sinhalese. Strict in his adherence to the discipline, he was equally gifted preacher of the canon.<sup>3</sup>

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1. SSC. p.31.

2. Ms. 1648. CPLMss. (W.A. de Silva) Rasavāhinī Ṭika colophon.

3. SSC. p.31.

Saṅgharaksita of Ginigathpitiya

From the time the Vālivita Novice was sojourning in the Seven Kōrales after establishing the "Pious Sect" this Thera was one of his pupils. At the time he joined the Society of the Pious, he had just completed his thirteenth year.<sup>1</sup> The novice Saṅgharakkhita who entered the order under the last Thera of Hulangamuva received religious instruction from Sarapaṅkara Thera when he was a sāmaṇera and was considered to be the third pupil of the Saṅgharāja. It has been stated thus:-

Having lived as a close pupil and attendant,  
With discipline accomplished and full of faith,  
The virtuous monk Saṅgharakkhita of Ginigatpitiya  
Was the third pupil of the Saṅgharāja<sup>2</sup>

This monk who taught the doctrine to his pupils at the Niyamakanda institution, after his religious education under Sarapaṅkara, composed during his period as a novice, a Sinhalese poem called the Tiratnamālā and the following eulogies - the Daḷadāṣṭaka, the Munirāja Aṣṭaka, the Pādal-ānchanāṣṭaka.

Saṅgharakkhita Thera on his becoming instructor, after completing ten years in the higher ordination was appointed

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1. SSC. pp. 28, 29, 30.  
2. SRV. 183.

the Chief Monk of the Seven Kōrales. He was the veteran religious reformer of the province who developed a number of monasteries including that of Vēramuṇe at Mādepola.<sup>1</sup> He was so overcome with grief at the passing away of the Saṅgharāja that he made a magnanimous offering to the monks and conferred the merits on the late Saṅgharāja.<sup>2</sup> The name of Ginigatpiṭṭiye Saṅgharakkhita Thera may be quoted as that of the most faithful pupil of the Saṅgharāja.

Rāmbukvālle Dhammarakkhita Thera

He was the fourth pupil of the Saṅgharāja and this fact is established by Muṅkoṭṭuve Rāla in the verse -

The Saṅgharāja of this island who served the Order  
Had many pupils deep in wisdom and learning  
The virtuous Rāmbukvālla, the second high monk  
Bearer of the title is one of them.<sup>3</sup>

This Thera who had learnt the doctrine from the Saṅgharāja himself and entered the higher ordination, was a specialist in the exposition of Kammāvācā. His method of exposition became highly popular. He taught not only the Dhamma and the Discipline (Vinaya) but even the Vidarśanā method of meditation, and had a large number of pupils.<sup>4</sup> Almost unforgettable

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1. Ms. Kuśalakriyaṇu Sandeśaya

2. SSC. pp. 28-30.

3. SRV. v. 184.

4. SSC. pp. 32-33.

among them was the monk Kuṅkuṇāve Sumaṅgala. It is quite well known that being very clever in composing evil verse, he became a menace not only to the general public but even to King Rājādhirājasimha.

It is said that nobody dared to come forward to cut the branch of the Bodhi tree which had turned towards the Nāthadevāla of Kandy because everybody thought the act to be sinful and to spell disaster. But the Kuṅkuṇāve Thera came forward and undertook to cut off the Bō tree branch in question. He had just uttered the evil verse -

The abode of the king of the doctrine is covered by  
the bō branch,

The tile covering has given way and decayed,

The menacing thug who cares for no one,

Let it be vanquished by the overwhelming Vīramuṇḍi<sup>1</sup>

Instantly it is reported that a fierce wind blew tearing the bō branch asunder and taking it into the Uḍavatta forest. This same monk has reportedly spelled the following evil verse to stop rats gnawing away young coconuts in his monastery yard -

mēkā mokādo maṭa nodāneyi                      mēkā

kakā kurumbā geḍi bima damana                      ekā

vikā āṭa nahara mas lē urā                      kakā

yakā mahasohon uge divi harin                      makā<sup>2</sup>

1. Purāṇa Sivupada Saṅgrahaya p.292.

2. Ms. This is in the possession of Degaldoruve Ratanapāla Thera, Malvatta Vihāra, Kandy.

I do not know who this fellow is,  
Who eats coconuts and throws them down;  
Biting the bones, veins and flesh and sucking the blood,  
Let Mahasohon yakā take away his life.

As a result of the verse it is known that the rat who destroyed the young coconuts fell down dead.

A mat which had been offered to him by a female devotee and which he had kept in the rack, was later gnawed away and destroyed by a rat. Again he spelled the following evil verse for the purpose -

A passionate beauty gave me the mat which I kept on  
the rack;  
The disaster the rat wrought has seized me all over  
now.

So I utter the stanza invoking the deity Devatā Baṇḍāra;  
May he grab the rat and take away its throat.<sup>1</sup>

The rat could not live any longer; for no sooner had the verse been finished than a cat who reamed about nearby came and killed the rat. That Kuṅkupāve Thera was to finish four lines of an evil verse was a matter of great fear for others. Oral tradition in the hill country has it that when

1. Purāṇa Sivupada Saṅgrahava p.292.

the Kunkunāve Thera threatened to spell an evil verse even King Rājādhirājasīṃha was terrified.

### A Powerful Enemy

Kuṅkupāve Thera had a powerful enemy at the Malvatta temple itself.<sup>1</sup> That was none other than Moratoṭa Dhammakanda Nāyaka Thera. One day Moratoṭa Thera hinted at the level faced Kuṅkupāve, "Kuṇā Kuṇāmaya - a miser is a miser".<sup>2</sup> Disregarding the fact that the Moratoṭa Thera was extremely powerful, the most witty Kuṅkupāve retorted, "Toṭa Toṭiyā" "A ferry anticipates a rower". Greatly displeased at this, Moratoṭa took revenge on the Kuṅkupāve Thera, immediately after the former became the Mahānāyaka. It was as a result of this that the Kuṅkupāve Thera was sent out of the Vāllāgala temple<sup>3</sup> which he received as a present for arranging the escape of the Saṅgharāja.

Without a temple to resort to, Kuṅkupāve Thera went and appealed to King Śrī Vikramarājasiṃha.

senē nātiva kohomada aragattē  
menē tibena duk pamapak nāttē  
anē itin iḍamak maṭa nāttē  
penē mevaga deviyanṭa mevāttē

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1. Ms. Vehera Vittiya (Ms. is in the possession of K. Wachissara)  
2. Hugh Nevill. Ethnology. Vol. II. p.292.  
3. See Ch. XIII.

ledaṭa noveda soṇḍa behet kavannē  
 baḍaṭa noveda rasamusu bat kannē  
 dukaṭa neveda kavipada tepalannē  
 vehera nātiva mama kohomada innē  
 pahaṭak kusal nokeḷemi sita darāgenē  
 gahaṭak viṇḍimi kaṇḍulāli ēsa purāganē  
 kaḥaṭak nātiva kusa tula himivarānanē  
 pihiṭak memaṭa venavada himitumānanē  
 paharak denṭa varadayi kavi tepalanavā  
 iharak nātiva kaṭa mātā kam doḍavanavā  
 aharak nātiva kusa tula gini āvilenavā  
 veherak denṭa nativada samifḍuni soṇḍavā<sup>1</sup>

How was it so unkindly appropriated?  
 My mental agony knows not its end,  
 O alas! deprived of my lands  
 May the gods see my plight this time;  
 Healing medicines are wanted when illness comes;  
 Stricken with hunger, delicious dishes must be found.  
 These lines are rhymed to allay the agony;  
 How can I exist without a monastery?  
 Never did I wilfully perpetrate an evil  
 But now I suffer and tears fill my eyes  
 Sire my stomach is empty  
 May you Lord, your succour lend?



I deserve a blow for the lines I rhyme,  
 And all the garrulous words I speak,  
 My inside is burning with hunger,  
 Can you not arrange a monastery fair?

King Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṃha lent his ear to this appeal  
 of Kuṅkupāve Thera and did justice by donating him a place  
 called Annampaṭṭuva<sup>1</sup>, which gift is acknowledge in -

annampaṭṭuva kiyā labāpū  
 eya maṭa kīvaṭa nāteyi kiyāpū  
 vargavelā mā ahakaṭa karapū  
 guṇen kivat api nodemu kiyāpū<sup>2</sup>

Annampaṭṭuva which I obtained after an appeal  
 Although they deny me the possession  
 And try to expel me from it,  
 We shall never give over, so they said.

From this it is clear that all his enemies got together to  
 expel Kuṅkupāve Thera from his earlier place and later from  
 Annampaṭṭuva too, whereupon the King intervened and affirmed  
 that the place belonged rightly to the Thera.

1. Hugh Nevill. Ethnology Vol. II. p.292.  
 2. Ms. Vehera Vittiya.

Kunkuṇāve Thera never avenged himself on the Moratoṭa Nāyaka Thera for doing so, for it is explained that later when enemies accused Dhammakkaṇḍa Thera it was Kunkuṇāve Thera who came to his rescue.

Kunkuṇāve Thera was skilled not only in poetic composition but even the exposition of the Doctrine. The Dhammacetiya Sūtra Sannaya<sup>1</sup> which he wrote was esteemed as authoritative by monks who were preachers of the time.

Moratoṭa Dhammakkaṇḍa Thera

Sunk in the ocean of compassion to benefit both worlds,  
Grasping truly the Dhamma, with no closed fist  
The second Nāyaka Thera of Moratoṭa, embodiment of  
virtue  
Is a faithful pupil of the Saṅgharāja.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally known that, during the time of the kings of Gampola and Kōṭṭe, Brahamins from South India came and settled down here, a fact which has been elaborated in the third chapter. Marrying Sinhalese women they entered into Sinhalese society.<sup>3</sup> As is explained in the Moratoṭavata it was to such a Brahamin family which immigrated during the reign of King Bhuvanekabāhu of Kōṭṭe,<sup>4</sup> that the Moratoṭa belonged

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1. SSC. p.32.

2. SRV. v.185.

3. SEE Ch. III.

4. Moratoṭa Vata. vv. 9-13 (Ed. Gunnāpāne Vagīrañāṇa)

In the lineage of one Bālakṛiṣṇa, one of eight such Brahamins, there was a person called Raṇasiṃha Mudaliyar. This Thera was the grandson of that Raṇasiṃha Mudaliyar who was in the service of King Rājasiṃha of Sītāvaka.

Entering the order at the age of thirteen under the Saṅgharāja, he mastered the Doctrine and secular subjects too. When he completed his twentieth year he came forward to obtain the higher ordination from the Siamese monks.<sup>1</sup> The Siamese monks, highly pleased at the versatility of the novice of Moratoṭa conferred upon him the pseudonym Nēgrodha.

After entering higher ordination, this monk Moratoṭa Nigrodha, memorised the whole of the Prāthimokṣa within fifteen days, and rehearsed it in the presence of Upāli and the other Siamese monks. Exceedingly delighted, Upāli Thera remarked "Asadiso Dhammakkhando"<sup>2</sup> - an incomparable embodiment of the Doctrine". It was thereafter that he was called Dhammakkhanda. For it is said -

In the year of Saka fourteen hundred and seventy six,  
Upāli Thera pleased at first sight guessed the po-  
tentialities

Entered this Nigrodha into the higher ordination,  
Who in fifteen days committed to memory the whole  
Pātimokkha

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1. SSC. p.33.

2. Preface to Moratoṭa Vata.

Forward and unyielding as a lion, he shone in the  
assembly of monks.

He preached eloquently the Dhamma, covering the  
Pātimokkha

Pleased at all these petting accomplishments, the great  
Upāli,

Made known the name "Monk Dahamkañḍa (Embodiment of  
the Doctrine)".<sup>1</sup>

With his mastery over the canon and his silver tongue,  
Moratoṭa Dhammakkhandha Thera became a specialist in expounding  
the Dhamma. King Rājādhirājasinḥa was so overjoyed after  
listening to his discourse that he donated many dependent  
villages to the Degaldoruve Temple which belonged to the Thera.  
Appointed Anunāyaka<sup>2</sup> of the Malwatte even while the Saṅgharāja  
was still living, he disseminated his knowledge of the Dhamma  
and secular subjects to laymen and monks through such institu-  
tions as the Gaṅgārāma.

King Rājādhirājasinḥa was himself a pupil of this Thera.  
Being a Sinhalese poet, he wrote the Asadisa Jātakaya and there  
makes grateful mention of Dhammakkhandha Thera.<sup>3</sup> The King also  
made him the Royal Preceptor, and on the death of Daramiṭṭipola

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1. Moratoṭa Vata. vv. 37, 38.

2. SSC. p.33.

3. Moratoṭa Vata. v.48.

Dhammarakkhita, the Mahānāyaka of the Malwatte temple. Muñkoṭṭuve Rāla too is generally accepted to be one of his pupils.

When he was appointed the Mahānāyaka, Moratoṭṭa Thera with the co-operation of the King made up a Katikāvata (a timely code of rules which the monks had to adhere strictly) in order to prevent indiscipline among the fraternity. It has now been designated the Rājādhimājasinṇa Katikāvata.<sup>1</sup> The Uposathāgāra of the Malwatte Temple was also built by this Thera who rendered yeoman service in the advancement of the religion. For it is said -

Obtaining permission by informing the king and inviting  
the ministers of the four quarters,

He brought the countrymen and renovated the dilapidated  
pohogē of Malwatte,

By having stone slabs brought, and making lotus like  
pedestals,

The ground paved with stone and gates guarding the  
four quarters.<sup>2</sup>

### Enemies

Moratoṭṭa Mahānāyake Thera had a host of enemies, who made various accusations against him.<sup>3</sup> It was they who com-

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1. Katikāvat Saṅgravaṭṭa (Ed. D.B. Jayatilake)

2. Moratoṭṭa Vata. v.64.

3. Purāṇa Sivupada Saṅgrahaya p.160.

plained to the king that the Thera was keeping a maid servant in the temple. The king inquired and found the accusation true and when the Thera was about to be brought to book, the ready wit of Kuṅkupāve, who was one of the worst enemies of the Thera averted the danger. But the king was left unconvinced, and one day in the dead of night the king appeared in female guise in the precincts of the Malvatte temple and put his hand into the Thera's chamber through the window. The Nāyaka Thera however identified the person and uttered -

The face like a lotus, delicate in every limb  
It would please even to look at you, if living close by.  
I spotted you at the god's festival during Āsala.  
Aren't you, O fair maiden, the sovereign of the island?<sup>1</sup>

The king highly pleased and with all his doubts dispelled replied -

Surpassing the gods' teacher in acquired knowledge  
Unlimited in virtue and morality,  
The noble monk of Moratoṭa is  
Fortunate to be friendly with throughout saṃsāra.<sup>2</sup>

During his time the Nāyakaship of Śrī Pāda fell vacant, and Koratoṭa Dhammārāma Thera, a highly educated monk living

1. Ibid.

2. Purāṇa Sivupada Saṅgrahaya p.150.

in Kandy at the time, too, applied for the post and succeeded in becoming the Nāyaka. Some monks of Malvatte who were dissatisfied with the appointment sneaked to the king, got Koratoṭṭa Thera arrested, and installed Moratoṭṭa Thera in the Nāyakaship.<sup>1</sup> The Koratoṭṭa-Moratoṭṭa conflict which arose as a result later assumed huge proportions. The Koratoṭṭa Thera who was imprisoned, composed the Bārasa Kāvya, and managed to please the king thereby, and was released from prison,<sup>2</sup> obtaining the Nāyakaship of the Low Country and the village of Pallebādda. The conflict between the two Theras became later transformed into a conflict between the monks of the up-country and the Low Country. The reason was that King Rājādhirājasīṃha was misled by his teacher Moratoṭṭa Thera and became indifferent when monks were divided on the issue of the appointing of a Nāyaka Thera for Srī Pāda. This Thera was the fourth Mahā Nāyaka Thera of Malvatta and among his pupils was the monk of Bāminivatte who wrote the Ārya vaṃsa Sūtra Sannaya.<sup>3</sup>

#### Other Pupils

Besides the chief pupils of the Saṅgharāja mentioned above, there were a few other lesser pupils. The monk of

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1. SPL. p.88.

2. Sinhalese Literature (C.E. Godakumbure) p.251.

3. SSC. p.33.

Vālivīṭa who resided at the Sūriyagoḍa temple was one of them. It was to this nephew of the Saṅgharāja that he transferred the Sūriyagoḍa temple after releasing it from Uḍapala Appu.<sup>1</sup>

The Junior Sarapaṅkara of Vālivīṭa was not only a pupil but also a close relative of the Saṅgharāja. He was put in charge of the Gaḍalādepiya temple. When the Saṅgharāja passed away, he was still in his prime, and when the issue of the Śrīpāda prelateship arose, he too entered the scene as a claimant. The Disāva of Sabaragamuva, Doḍanvala Mahanilame, rounded him regarding the impropriety of his entering the scene on that issue which involved such high ups as Moratoṭa Dhammakkhandha Thera as he was too young, and in view of the ensuing danger, because Moratoṭa Thera was the teacher of King Rājādhirājasimha.<sup>2</sup> Totally disregarding the claims of Vālivīṭa Thera, King Rājādhirājasimha, on the advice of Moratoṭa Thera ordered the Sannasa (official document of possession) to be brought from Sabaragamuva to be kept in the Upasathāgāra of Malvatta and offered the prelateship to the Mahānāyake Thera of Moratoṭa.

The courage of Vālivīṭa Thera was undaunted. When the king Rājādhirājasimha died, he managed to obtain the sannasa by representing matters through Ahālēpola Adikārama to King Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha, but he was unable to get the prelateship

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1. See Ch. XI.

2. Historical Mss. Commission's First Report. p.48.



of Śrī Pāda so long as Moratoṭṭa Thera died. Later on, when the British occupied the island he again represented matters to Governor Brownrigg and became the chief prelate of Śrī pāda in succession to Rājaguru Sirinivāsa of Kobbākaḍḍuva. His having become the Mahānāyaka of Malvatte was a further qualification.<sup>1</sup>

It was this Vālivīṭṭa Thera who was mainly responsible for preserving all the books and memoirs, presents and gifts and statues of the late Saṅgharāja.<sup>2</sup> His ecclesiastical line is still extent.

#### Attaragama Rājaguru Baṇḍāra

Attaragama Baṇḍāra who first studied under Kobbākaḍḍuve Sirinivāsa Thera of Malvatta, later studied the doctrine and discipline under the Saṅgharāja. He became one of the cleverest pupils of the Saṅgharāja and obtaining permission from King Kīrtiśrī Rājasiṅha obtained the Higher ordination under Upālī Thera.<sup>3</sup> Later on, he gave up robes on the instigation of the king himself. But as he continued his service of imparting knowledge to pupils, both laymen and monks, he was highly respected and loved. As a result the king conferred on him the title "Rājaguru".

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1. All petitions forwarded in this connection are available at the Vālivīṭṭa Temple of Malvatta, Kandy.
  2. SSC. p.36.
  3. SSC. pp.35-36.

Attaragama Rājaguru Baṇḍāra was a famous literary luminary of the Kandy period. He wrote the Kāraka Puṣpa Mañjariya, Sudhīra Mukha Maṇḍanaya, Sabdamālāva and Vṛttāvatāraya, and had many famous pupils. Many learned monks of the period including Karatoṭṭa Dharmārāma of the South were among his pupils.<sup>1</sup> Hīnaṭikuṃburē Sumaṅgala Thera who translated the Milindapañha into Sinhalese was also one of his greatest pupils.<sup>2</sup> Although the Saṅgharāja of Vālivīṭṭa was the forerunner of the modern literary and religious renaissance many of the modern educational institutions in the island were initiated by direct and indirect pupils of Attaragama Rājaguru Baṇḍāra.

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1. See Ch. XVII.

2. SSC. p.36.

CHAPTER XVICHAPTER XVIThe Literary Renaissance

Sarapaṅkara Thera was taught little by others, and that too in his primary education. But he became really learned by self-study. It was generally accepted that he had the ability to read six languages. Six alphabets of the six languages which the Thera used have still been preserved in the Vālivāṭa temple of the Malvatta monastery.<sup>1</sup>

It has been accepted without question that the Saṅgharāja of Vālivāṭa was the greatest literary figure of the island after Śrī Rāhula of Toṭagamuva. Lovuke Rāla and Atthadassī Sāmaṇera<sup>2</sup> of Palkuṭṭura gave him guidance only during his early days. Mainly because he genuinely felt the value of literary and religious service, he started studying and working assiduously for a revival of Buddhism and Sinhalese literature, which at that time was at a low ebb. In pursuit of this aim he wrote many works of religious and literary importance. They are:-

1. Munigupālaṅkāraya,
2. Abhisambodhi Alāṅkāraya,<sup>3</sup>
3. Sārārtha Saṅgraha,

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1. Available with Vālivāṭa Vipassī Thera, Malvalla Vihāra, Kandy.  
 2. Vide Ch. X.  
 3. The author could not procure this work.

4. Ratnatraya Praṇāma gāthā sannaya
5. Bhesajja Mañjūsa Sannaya
6. Satara Bapavara Sannaya
7. Mahābodhivaṃsa Sannaya
8. Rūpa Mālā
9. Pāli Sandesaya

### Munigupālaṅkāraya

The Munigupālaṅkāraya can be considered to be his first work. In this work composed in Pāli during the reign of King Narendrasīṃha, Saraṇāṅkara Thera makes grateful mention of his religious preceptor Atthadassi and his teacher Vaṭabuluve Mahā Thera.<sup>1</sup> There the latter is named as Piṇḍapātika Mahāthera. It may be due to the special liking for this term 'piṇḍapātika', that the Saṅgharāja too came to bear it, and not because of his living on the alms obtained by begging. Although the Munigupālaṅkāraya, composed in Pāli verse and prose in his youth, is a short composition, nevertheless it is a clear testimony to his mastery of the Pāli language. He refers to his teacher and himself thus:-

sankāsa therā pavaro yati piṇḍāpāto  
 sansuddha sīla sugupākara saṅghasisso  
 sadhamma atthakusalo vara atthadassi  
 sansevitena munino vacanena sesā<sup>2</sup>

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1. Catalogue of palmleaf Mss. 1901 (W.A. de Silva)  
 2. Ms. Munigupālaṅkāra - colophon.

ñatvāna Buddhasugupam adhicintayitvā  
 sadhāya buddha vacanam pagupaṅkaritvā  
 sansāra dhukkamatulam paricintayitvā  
 sambodhikāmanasā sarapaṅkaroham

The noble therā was a Piṇḍapātika,  
 His pupil, a mine of pure virtue,  
 Versed in the meaning of doctrine was noble Atthadassi  
 Words of the great sage were learned under him.  
 Knowing, and contemplating on the Buddha's virtues,  
 Learning faithfully the words of Buddha through him,  
 Thinking of the great misery of Saṃsāra  
 I, Sarapaṅkara, composed this, desirous of enlightenment.

From the very title it is clear that it purports to sing the praises of the Buddha. Sarapaṅkara Thera composed another treatise in Pāli, called Adhisambodhi Alaṅkāra.

#### Sārārtha Saṅgraha

Worthy of being ranked as an encyclopaedia of Buddhism, the Sārārtha Saṅgraha<sup>1</sup> is a very important literary work. It was on the suggestion of King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha that Sarapaṅkara Thera commenced writing it at the age of twenty seven. This is a magnanimous work that describes the virtues of the Buddha on the lines of the nine qualities (araṇṇa<sup>2</sup>)

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1. Edited by Kolonnāve Sugupasāra Thera.

At the time the book was written, the Sinhalese Buddhist monks had deteriorated to a rather low level. Though they had undertaken to protect the religion, they valued property and kith and kin much more. They believed more in the power of gods and the efficacy of offerings to demons than in the Buddha. Therefore quite rightly does Sarapaṅkara Thera in the first few chapters describe who the Buddha is, what his virtues are, and what his doctrine is. The detailed description of the Four Noble Truths, may be quoted to prove this point. Anyone can understand that the story of Mahākāśyapa Thera has been given at length in order to reiterate the importance of religious precepts which were going out of vogue among the monks of the time.

Sarapaṅkara Thera was the possessor of dhutāṅgas<sup>1</sup> (rituals) and had a life-long adherence to the piṇḍapātikāṅga (the precept of taking as food only that which is obtained by begging). Now Mahākāśyapa Thera was the foremost in the accomplishment of dhutāṅgas, so Sarapaṅkara Thera wanted to follow in his footsteps. This is clear from the wish:-

Paṃsukūlika aṅgādi	-	dveca cīvara nissite
piṇḍapātika aṅgādi	-	pañca āhāra nissite
tathā āraññakāṅgādi	-	pañca senāsanissite

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1. Dhutāṅgas are certain Buddhist rituals that should be observed by the monks. There are 13 dhutāṅgas (see Visuddhi Magga Ch. II).

aññam nesajjakāṅgādi - terase me dhute guṇe  
 sammā samādiyitvāna - lābhakitti yasādihi  
 avināsentova pāleyyam - tāni sabbāni sabbaso<sup>1</sup>

The paṃsukulika aspect etc. - two regarding the robes,  
 The piṇḍapātika aspect etc. - five rituals regarding  
 food,

Araññaka aspect etc. as well - regarding the five types  
 of rest,

Other aspect of sitting down - all these thirteen rituals  
 I have strictly undertaken - unhindered by gain and fame.

Let me protect all those virtues in every respect.

By his lengthy description of the dhutāṅgas, contained in the story of Mahākaśyapa Thera, Saranaṅkara Thera really wanted to induce contemporary monks who were accustomed to irreligious practices, to follow religious precepts to the letter.

The story of Mahākappina<sup>2</sup> is an uncompromising attack on immoral monks. It contains an explanation of the sufferings<sup>3</sup> which an immoral person enjoying the four requisites given by faithful devotees, would have to undergo in hell and in reverse, the good that would result, from leading a life of virtue. Lastly is found a lengthy elaboration of the Maṅgala<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sārārtha Saṅgraha (vide last portion of book)

2. Ibid. Ch. VII.

3. cf. Visuddhi Magga - Sila Niddesa.

4. Sārārtha Saṅgraha. Ch.9.

Sutta. The monks of this Kandyan era were so steeped in superstitious beliefs that he took this opportunity to condemn them according to Buddhism and to explain that the thirty-eight blessings contained in the Sutta were much more worthy of observance than superstitious omens. The commentary on (Santutṭhi) Happiness is in its entirety a reminder of the value of religious observances to the community of contemporary monks who were given to irreligious practices and cults and a life of indulgence. Of a similar nature is the commentary on (Brahmacariyā) celibacy.<sup>1</sup> It can therefore be concluded that the biographies of Mahākāśyapa and Mahākappina were necessarily meant to direct monks on to the correct path.

The fact that Sarapaṅkara Thera has consulted a very formidable number of literary works<sup>2</sup> in composing the work under discussion shows that even at the age of twenty seven he was really learned. Based for the most part on the Visuddhi Magga and its Tīka, the Sārārtha Saṅgraha draws material from Pāli works like the Saṃyutta Nikāya and its commentary, the Jātaka commentary, the commentary on Dhammapada, Milindapañha, and Sinhalese doctrinal theses like the Dharmapradīpikā, Sadharmaratnāvalī, Pūjāvalī, Thūpavaṃsa etc. Besides the 'Saḍ-darśana Saṅgraha' a work on Buddhist dialectics, had also

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1. Ch. IX, pp. 465-485.

2. Cf. Sinhalese Literature by Dr. C.E. Godakumbura - Chap. VII.



been consulted. Although this work is popularly thought to explain Buddhist dialectics, the six systems (Ṣaḍ-darśana) of philosophy have for the most part the Vedic knowledge as their foundation. There is of course a work on Buddhist dialectics by the title 'Ṣaḍ-darśana Samuccaya' and it may be to this that the author refers.<sup>1</sup> Or else the reference may be to Ṣaḍ Baudḍha Nyāya Mārga mentioned by Dr. Sarvepalli Rādhakriṣṇan.<sup>2</sup> Since this Ṣaḍ-darśana Saṅgraha is referred to in the Vimutti Magga too, it may be doubted whether there was a Buddhist philosophical treatise by that name. Be that as it may, the fact that Sarapaṅkara Thera quotes from the work indicates that he had a profound mastery of the Sanskrit language.

A special characteristic of the work is that side by side with a complex literary style, with long compounds of Sanskrit and Pāli so popularised by Gurūḷugomi, there is also used a simple style composed of pure Sinhalese.<sup>3</sup> The former is used in the exposition of the doctrine, and the latter in the narrative. Although it tries to emulate the Dharmapradīpikā of Gurūḷugomi, the work in question lacks subtlety and high nature. Had the diction used in the exposition of the doctrine been a trifle simpler the author would have fulfilled his intention to a much higher degree. Perhaps, the work may have failed

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1. A theory postulated by Dr. W.S. Karunaratne

2. Indian Philosophy - Vol. II p. 57.

3. Sārārtha Saṅgraha - Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

in its purpose because the degenerate monks of the time would have found it difficult not only to understand it, but even to read it.

Ratnatraya Prapāma Gāthā Sannaya

Sarapaṅkara Thera was not idle when he had leisure to spare. There is a fine rhythmical commentary composed by him as he spent his leisure in the Pāyamalu Vihāra.<sup>1</sup>

mahākāruṇikaṃ vīraṃ

vande appaṭipuggalaṃ

Dhammaṃ ca vimalaṃ suddhaṃ

Dhakkīṇeyyaṃ gaṇuthamaṃ

Possessed of great compassion, the hero,

Without fear, I do adore,

Next the Doctrine pure and supreme

And the noble Order, worthy of offering.

After the adoration of the Triple Gem in this verse, the work is composed as an ensuing commentary, and is as eloquent as any commentary of Buddhaghosa. This work itself, with its long explanations of single words, is sufficient to give an idea of the great knowledge this therā had acquired even as a youth.

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1. A photostat copy (this copy procured from the British Museum is now available with the author).

Bhesajja Mañjūsā Sannaya

This is the first important commentary of Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja. Although King Viraparākrama Narendrasīṃha was not himself a man of letters he showed a keenness for art and letters, for which he had a great liking. The surprising fact that prevailed upon Father Gonzalvez to compose a treatise on medicine may be quoted to prove this point.<sup>1</sup> Pleased at the versatility shown by Sarapaṅkara Thera in composing the Sārārtha Saṅgraha, the king invited the Thera to write a commentary on the Bhesajja Mañjūsā which the king had obtained from the Vīd-āgama temple. Complying with the request, the Thera with the help of his pupils, completed the work with such satisfaction that king Narendrasīṃha offered an elephant as a token of appreciation.<sup>2</sup> When Sarapaṅkara Thera refused the offer, a second gift of a palanquin was made. This was in turn presented to another by the Thera.<sup>3</sup>

Satarabhapavara Sannaya

This work written at the request of King Śrī Vijayarājasiṃha is designated Sārārthadīpanī. The Thera mentions that this follows the Sārārtha Samuccaya', a commentary on the Catubhānavāra Pāli and also an earlier sanna 'Saṅkhepattha Vivarapa'.<sup>4</sup> Whatever the King's request may have been,

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1. LFJG. p. 104

2. Vide Chapter XI.

3. S-S.C. p. 10

4. Sīṃhala Sāhitya Vaṇṣaya (P.B. Sannasgala)

Sarapaṅkara Thera's purpose in writing his work was to make monks lay more emphasis on such ceremonies as Pirit-chanting, than on sacrificial rituals, that were foreign to Buddhism, and to which the monks of the time were addicted. The Thera has made his discerning knowledge evident by eliminating on very convincing grounds of course, a verse which has been mistakenly used in the Candaparitta. The verse runs:-

yo andhakāre tamasī pabhaṅkaro  
 verocano maṇḍalī uggatejo  
 mārāhu gilīcaraṃ anta<sup>1</sup>ṇikkhe  
 paḷaṃ mama rāhu paṇuṇa candimaṃ<sup>1</sup>

He who makes light, in stark darkness

The sun, crescented and of strong power

Let not Rāhu devour, as he roams in the mid-space

and let Rāhu release my progeny, the moon.

Not only is there a literal explanation, there are also given the meaning, derivation, cause and exposition - the work being thus complete from the five aspects. A special characteristic of the work is that it is interspersed with a number of quite antique words taken from the older sanna. Words and phrases like 'anē vaḍuvā visin kaḷa', 'hiṇṇu da hiṇṇa da', 'bālagālapat'

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1. Now this stanza occurs with a few variations in the Suriya paritta.

which are certainly far removed in age from the Kandyan period and are examples of such borrowings from the older sannes.

In the process of explanation, the reader is, wherever it is deemed necessary, referred to the Sārārtha Saṅgraha for details. This Sārārtha Dīpanī enjoys much popularity among the sanna literature.

#### Mahā Bodhivaṃsa Sannaya

The Mahā Bodhivaṃsa Parikathā<sup>1</sup> written by Sarapaṅkara Thera on the invitation of King Śrī Vijayarājasimha is a commentary on the Pāli Mahābodhi Vaṃsa written by Upāli Thera. This work, under the title 'Madhuratthappakāsini' is a formidable compilation, wherein the author has not failed to mention his other works, Munigupālaṅkāraya, Abhisambodhialaṅkāraya and Saḍdharana Sārārtha Saṅgrahaya.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that there is a host of works based on the Pāli Bodhivaṃsa shows that it was quite a popular work. The Dharmapradīpikā of Gurugomī purports to explain the difficult words therein. During the Kurunāgala period the Saṅgharāja of Viḷgammula translated the Bodhivaṃsa into Sinhalese, and now by supplying a commentary, Sarapaṅkara Thera enhanced its popularity. Written in a style mixed with Sanskrit the work also contains very archaic terms like 'kaṇṇa rasayin vū', mahabō vas', 'sugathaṇa udaya vū nohot utpattisthāna vū'.

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1. Sinhalese Literature - Dr. C.E. Godakumbura. pp. 6, 9 and 33.  
2. CPL Mss. (W.A. de Silva) No. 1403.

Rūpa Mālāva

This work written by Sarapaṅkara Thera while he was still a novice, in order to teach Pāli to his pupils was also quite popular among the monks of the period. The work commences with the adoration:-

Buddhādiccaṃ namassāmi  
mahāmoha tamonudaṃ  
dhammaraṃsi pabodhentaṃ  
veneyya kamalākaraṃ<sup>1</sup>

I adore the Buddha, who like unto the sun,  
Dispels the dense darkness of ignorance  
And the doctrine the rays of  
Which awaken the lotus like devotees.

It contains the systems of declensions, as well as the commentary on them. This work is still used as a primer of grammar in some of the ecclesiastical educational institutions, in Ceylon.

After pleasing the king greatly by writing the Sārārtha Saṅgraha and the Bhesajja Mañjūsā Sannaya, Sarapaṅkara Thera attempted to invite monks from abroad to reinstate the higher ordination (upasampadā). A message to the king in Pāli verse,

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1. CPL Mss. (W.A. de Silva) No. 2046.

composed for this very purpose was sent to the king and has been described earlier. Seeing that his request to the king was in vain, the Thera left the message in Pāli verse so that it could be used for a similar mission at a later opportunity, which may have been even after the Thera's death.

### Pāli Sandesava<sup>1</sup>

Written in eloquent Pāli, the work makes a brief survey of Buddhism in Ceylon, from the time of the Buddha's death. From its high literary style, it can never be surmised that the work belongs to that dark Kandyan period. At the close of this work, which abounds in long compounds and lengthy constructions, there is an elaboration in Sinhalese which purports to give the aims of this composition. There it is said, that if missionaries were to go out to bring back the upasampadā after the death of King Vīraparākrama Narendrasīṃha, the name of the King etc. should be altered.

The message of the Malvatta that was taken to bring the upasampadā from Siam too was drafted by Sarapaṅkara Thera<sup>2</sup>. When the Siamese ministers were leaving the island after re-establishing the upasampadā, the thera sent by them a message, composed by himself in Pāli verse, to the king of Siam and the Saṅgharāja thera, so that the latter too may partake of the

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1. A photo stat copy of the palm leaf Ms. obtained from the British Museum is available with the author.

2. Ms. Kuśalakriyānu Sandesaya.

merits accruing thereby. He wished them long life, through the grace of gods and through the efficacy of all the merits accruing to the Siamese monks, by their establishing the upasampadā and visiting the holy places in Ceylon.

Besides these works, the Saṅgharāja Katikāvata<sup>1</sup> to which the Thera wrote during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha, is a work of great literary merit. Written on the lines of the Polonnaru and Dambadeṇi Katikāvatas, this work is expected to guard monks from irreligious practices and to establish them in a religious and disciplinary way of life. A work popularly known as the Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha Katikāvata<sup>2</sup> is also a composition of Vāliviṭṭa Thera.

### Style

A critical survey will reveal that the Thera used one style in literary compositions, and a different style in writing messages (sandesas). In the Sārārtha Saṅgraha of course, as a speciality, and wherever the doctrine is expounded, there is employed a heavy style abounding in long compounds and derivations from Pāli and Sanskrit. This is clear from such a passage as 'śrī laṅkāṅganābharapa pratibhāgātīdhavala pulinatala ubhayatīrālāṅkṛta naika jalacarakadamba lulita

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1. Photostat copy Ms.

2. A Photostat copy of the palm leaf Ms. obtained from the British Museum is available with the author.



sisira nikufija gambhīrottunga taraṅga bhaṅgākula mahā vāluka gaṅgā nāmatī jalaparikhāyen vū.<sup>1</sup> In the descriptive sections the writer preferred a turgid style similar to the Sanskrit style employed, for instance, in the Kādambarī or the Harṣacarita. In certain places there is evidence that he held the Dharmapradīpikā as a model. In narration (of course) he has not failed to employ a simple lucid style, following closely the Sadharmaratnāvaliya or the Pūjāvaliya.

'Māṇik sātṭara demāllō demavpiyan taramē siṭa terun vahansēṭa upasthāna kaḷōyā. Ek davasak māṇik sātṭarāṇō terun vahansē leṅga hiṇḍa daḍa masak kapati evēlōvaṭa kosol rajjuruvo asaval lesa māṇik gā vidalā evā lavayi ek māṇikak yāvūya'.<sup>2</sup> Passages like this reveal how closely the author has followed the Sadharmaratnāvaliya. In other places he has taken sentences outright from it. 'ū vannā mevakata maḷōyayi un tabā mumbat māṇika nodī miyanadā vōḍāyi kivuya. upāsakayenī, lē vāki māṇika dāka gilūyē telēya. Māṇika gala niyāva mama diṭimi. tulu maḷa heyinut nomala nam karmānurūpava mama miya yana namut noṇiyami vadāḷa sēka.<sup>3</sup> That this is not a style representative of the kandyan period, as is evidenced by the archaic words used therein, needs no further proof. This inter-mixture

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1. Sārārtha Saṅgrahaya p.8.

2. Ibid. p.327.

3. Ibid. p.328.

of a heavy style in exposition and a simple style in narration is a phenomenon found not only in the Sārārtha Saṅgraha, but in all the other works of the author. Writers of this time were induced to drop Pāli words in the sannes and introduce Sinhalese words instead. Even Gurulugōmi in his Amāvatura and Dharmapradīpikā bows to this tradition. Sarapaṅkara Thera too, merely played the sedulous part, and therefore the style cannot be said to be quite his.

In his letters the Thera used the diction current in the Kandyan period. 'peraliyak saḍḍa sūniyamak arabayā noveyi duk gāna gena hiṭṭiya ayaṭa udahasak āviṭa varada vātī adhi-kāramat maruvāya sāmāpera unnānset apavatkara dāmuṭvāya .... guruvarayinut sihikaralā pin dunnāya, mesē kaḷaupakārayaṭa magē sita ati santosa unāya. Sūriyagoḍa Vihārēgama unnānsēgē gihi nāyaṇṭama mise vaṭin kenakuṇṭa denavat novē'.<sup>1</sup> Looking at such instances, one may be tempted to question the authenticity of their authorship. But Sarapaṅkara Thera, being the versatile writer that he was, composed his works quite appropriately to the end in view hence his diversity of style. There are many reasons which go to prove that this particular style was truly typical of Sarapaṅkara Thera. Be that as it may, this great literary renaissance initiated by Sarapaṅkara Thera has come down with added vigour even to the present day and is a monumental result of his pure and incomparable courage.

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1. Sāhitya Lipi (Sir D.S. Jayatilake).

CHAPTER XVIILiterary Genealogy

It is accepted without dispute that Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja was the founder of the modern literary revival. Even though, owing to such reasons as foreign invasions, Kandy was again <sup>n</sup>veloped in darkness with regard to art and letters, many of the Saṅgharāja's learned pupils who went down south, engrossed themselves with the promotion of literature and Buddhism in that remote area. Dhammajoti Thera of Siṭṭināmaluva and Dhammapāla Thera of Vaṭaraggoda, were the founders of two ecclesiastical schools.<sup>1</sup>

Siṭṭināmaluve Thera, who was a contemporary as well as a famous disciple of Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja had a pupil called Dhammadinna of Vēhālla. He is for ever remembered as the precursor of that generation of literati. This Dhammadinna Thera who received his religious education under the Saṅgharāja, when the latter was still a novice at Kandy, and who later obtained the higher ordination under the Siamese monks when they came to Ceylon, was equally successful in winning the good will of King Kīrtiśrī, as was the Saṅgharāja. This is mentioned in the Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyā.<sup>2</sup>

1. Vide Ch. XVIII.

2. Edition by Sannasgala, p. 21

One day Vālivita Thera took Dhammadinna Thera of Vēhālla to the King and introduced his pupil, whereupon Vēhālla Thera showed his capabilities by preaching to the king. But the king was left unconvinced, and later told the Saṅgharāja that he was dissatisfied with Vēhālla Thera.<sup>1</sup> This was because Vēhālla Thera visited the king in the company of the Saṅgharāja with his feet covered whereas the Saṅgharāja was bare-footed. When the Saṅgharāja came to know this, he immediately explained to the king that Vēhālla Thera did so because on that particular day the latter was indisposed and thus he dispelled the king's displeasure. Having obtained the prelateship of Śrīpāda, while being a novice, Vēhālla Thera later became the Nāyaka Thera of the low country and then went down to Mātara.<sup>2</sup> The legal document (Sannas) of the transference of the prelateship over Śrīpāda runs thus "Śrī utum vū paṇiḍa paṇata nam vēhāllē dhammadinna gaṇavolin mahavāsalaṭa hoṇḍahitin pakṣa piraṇānam ātuva duk gena siṭṭina miṣā sabaragamuva disāva bada samanalaḡala vihāra paḍayiya saha meṇa vihāra paḍaviyaṭa aḍuttu goḍa maḍa vel vil inḡgam ātuluva bukti vidina paṇataṭat disāven devolin pāmīni kenēhun avālak

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1. Saṅgharāja Caritaya (Somaratne) p. 69.

2. Saṅgharāja Sādhū Cariyā - p. 21.

uddharanayak nāti vagata śrī buddhavarṣayen dedahas desiya anū hatarak vū vesāṅga pura pasaloṣvak lat kividina me davasa devā vadāla paṇatat meṣe paṇivuda paṇatayī."<sup>1</sup> The noble message of royal order is that as Dhammadinna Gaṇavolin of Vēhalla is of painstaking service with goodwill and loyalty to the palace, the nāyaka post of Adam's Peak in the Sabaragamuva Province is given to him so that he may enjoy the lands, paddy fields, jungles, tanks and villages with boundaries and to prevent a dispute or usurpation from anybody who comes from a province or devāla, this noble message of order was given on the full moon day of the month of Vesak in the two thousand two hundred ninety sixth year of the Buddhist era.

In addition to this prelateship he was also put in charge of two villages, Pālmadulla and Kuṭṭāpiṭṭiya. He lived in the temple built for him by the Mudiyanse of Kahaṇḍāvē and died there. Occasionally he went into residence at Pālmadulla too. Although there is no mention of any literary works by Vēhalla Thera,<sup>2</sup> he is important because his versatile pupils were soon in the field and made amends.

Barana Ganitayā:

Chief among the lay pupils who studied under

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1. Mātara Sāhitya Yugaya (Meerasuriya) pp. 27 - 93.

2. Sinhalese Literature (Godakumbure) Chapter XVI.

Siṭināmaluva Thera are Baraṇa Gaṇitayā and Pattāyamē Lekam. This Baraṇa Gaṇitayā who was with the Thera, when the latter was studying at Kandy was at the time better known as "Sādā", and learnt not only Sinhalese, but also Sanskrit and Astrology. On the completion of his studies he impressed the king by his attainments so that the title "Candrābharāṇa" was conferred on him by the king. Accordingly, he was henceforth known as Bharanagaṇitācārya. After his period of studentship, he returned to his native village and won fame as an astrologer and a composer of spell-verse - (evil as well as beneficial). The Nilakobōsandeśaya and the Vāyasanimitta are generally attributed to him.

Pattāyamē Lekam:

This is a person who made for himself an undying name as a poet during the Mātara period. A student, as well as a kinsman of Siṭināmaluve Thera, he is known also as Samarajīva. That he was a student of Siṭināmaluve Thera is acknowledged by him in the following verse -

Resplendent with the moon in the sky of religion,  
Constantly practising celibacy, protecting it like the eye,  
The Chief monk, Siṭināmaluve Damdō of great virtue,  
With whom I lived and studied under<sup>1</sup>

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1. Mātara mānava vaṃsaya (Vanaratana) p. 160.

He also composed many metrical works like the Kavumipikoṇḍala, Viyovagaratnamālaya and the Ratavati Kathāva.<sup>1</sup>

#### Other Scholars.

There were many other scholarly monks who studied under the Saṅgharāja and Attaragama Rājaguru Bandāra, and then went down to the South. Among them special mention must be made of Kaṁburupitiye Gunaratana Nāyaka Thera. A pupil of Vēhāllā Dhammadinna Thera, this Thera was known also as Saṅgidhara Gunaratana. He was appointed the prelate of Srīpāda as successor to his teacher Vēhālle Thera, and resided for the most part of his life at Pālmadulla in Ratnapura and at the Potgul Vihāra. The credit of being the last preacher to the Saṅgharāja also goes to him. Deṇṭapitiya Thera who was resident at the Pūrvārāma at Kurumbure in Mātara, and a pupil of Baṁbarāndē Buddharakṣita Thera, and going to Kandy in his young days, was closely associated with the Saṅgharāja. That he courted royal pleasure is evident from his being presented with an ivory fan handle and a big Buddha Statue by the King Kīrtiśrī Rājasimha. This Demaṭapitiye Thera, who became the Nāyaka of the low country was primarily active in the spread of literature and religion in the South.

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1. Mātara Sāhitya yugaya (Weerasuriya) p. 58.

Agalakada Thera:

This Thera who lived in the Aggabodhi temple at Valigama was known by the name Dhammarakkhita of Agalakaya. Pleased with the services he rendered for the promotion of religion in the South, King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha appointed him chief prelate of the low country and gave him presents of various kinds.

Two Schools.

Besides the Vēhalla and Mākīrigala schools which were the fore-runners of the literary revival in the South, there were two other literary centres, namely Vava and Ransāgoda.<sup>1</sup> Indasara Thera of Vava, who lived in the Tānumpata temple of Mātara, studied at Kandy and then went back to Mātara. Having been a pupil of Vēhalla Dhammadinna Thera, he became so illustrious that royal patronage was extended to him also. The founder of the Ransāgoda genre, Ransāgoda Dhammadassi Thera, too studied under the same Vēhalla Dhammadinna Thera and later having received the title of 'Kīrti Śrī Tejavarā' from the king and obtained many villages, went down to Mātara and resided at Kalugala. Since both of these were pupils of Vēhalla Dhammadinna Thera, the two centres can legitimately be connected with the Vēhalla School.

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1. Karatota Vata. p. 5 (Kulatunga).



Hālyāle Maniratana Thera.

Hālyāle Maniratana Thera who was an illustrious pupil of both Ransēgoda Thera and another Lēnabatuve Thera is an outstanding scholar of the Mātara period.<sup>1</sup> Having studied at the Malvatta monastery, he went down to Mātara, made his residence at the Kalugala temple and composed the poems - Kavmutuhara, Prāthihārya Satakaya and Amārasaya.<sup>2</sup> Kirama Dhammānanda, Akurāssē Suvanna Joti, Galātumbē Piyadassi, Parapāmullē Dhammārama, all scholars of repute were his pupils.

Scholars of the South:

When as a result of the literary and religious services rendered by the scholarly pupils of Valiviṭṭa Saranāṅkara Thera, both laymen and monks were sent down to Mātara, was in its zenith, King Rājādhirājasiṃha sent this interrogation to Mātara -

Friend, well composed, observing the four vows  
With heart intent on religion and the precepts,  
Versed in Sinhalese, Pāli and Sanskrit  
How many scholars are there in Mātara?<sup>3</sup>

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1. Mātara Sāhitya Yugaya. pp. 50 - 57 (Weerasuriya).

2. Godakumbure, Dr. C.E. 'Sinhalese Literature' chs. XIV, XIX.

3. Mātara Mānava Vamsaya (K. Vanaratana Thera) p. 172.

The following verse enumerating the scholars of  
Mātara at the time was sent in reply to the king -

karatota bōvalada gālakurāsina<sup>m</sup>mina  
kiramada kiviṇḍu denagama <sup>m</sup>ḍaṅkit paṭuna  
thera satdat galātumbē babuvaṭina  
parasidu samat yati raṭapāta mepamana

Theras of Karatota, Bōvala, Gālla, by name

The poet of Kirama, Ḍaṅkit of Denagama

And the great scholar of Galātumbē

These are the famous scholars of the low country.<sup>1</sup>

This indicates that the scholarly monks who had  
the designations of their native villages, Karatota, Bōvala  
and Galātumbē respectively were rendering yeoman service in  
the propagation of religion, art and letters.

#### Karatota Thera.

This was a pupil of Mahakadurupokunē Suvarṇajoti  
Thera, who in turn was a pupil of Vēhālla Thera. He obtained  
the ordination under that Suvarṇajoti Thera, at the  
Vēragampita temple in Mātara and then even while his preceptor  
was living, went to Malvatta and after studying there and

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1. Ibid

obtaining the high ordination furthered his studies under Attaragama Rājaguru Bandāra<sup>1</sup>. This Karatōṭa Thera, being well known as a person of great learning and scholarship, later stayed in Kandy and trained many pupils both laymen and monks.

Soon after, when he was made the chief prelate of Srī Pāda in succession to Mālimbada Dhammādhāra Thera, a host of enemies gathered round him. Among them was Vālivita Saraṇāṅkara (junior) Thera as well as Moratōṭa Dhammakāṇḍa Thera.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for these enmities was the incumbency of Srī Pāda. In the meantime the post of Nāyaka Thera of the low country fell vacant on the demise of Saṅgīdhara Guṇaratana Thera, and Karatōṭa Thera applied for it. Many monks made false accusations against the Thera and presented them up to the king. One accusation, that the Thera was on the side of the Lansiya (Dutch) aroused the temper of the king, whereupon the Thera was kept in detention in a house at Kaṭugastōṭa.<sup>3</sup> It was then that Karatōṭa Thera, on the instructions of his teacher, Attaragama Rājaguru Bandāra composed Bārasa Kāvya and dedicated it to the king.<sup>4</sup> Being unable to interpret the poem, the king

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1. SSC, p. 23.

2. Turnour's Records. SPL. pp. 90, 91.

3. MMV. p. 101.

4. Godakumbure, Dr. C.E. (Sinhalese Literature) ch. XIX.

released the Thera and brought him to Kandy, as there was nobody else competent to do it there. After shaving off beard and hair which had grown during his period of detention, the Thera explained the poem to the king. Highly taken up by the great scholarship of the Thera, the king not only granted his complete release, but even donated the village of Pallebādde for his sustenance.<sup>1</sup> He further expressed his appreciation of the Thera in the following verse:-

To Dhammārāma Thera of Karatōṭa  
I paid great respect, in view of which,  
To any pupil of his, direct or indirect  
None should do any wrong in the future.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Thera secured the chief Nāyaka's post over the low country, he failed to get back restored that of Srī Pāda.<sup>3</sup>

Even when Karatōṭa Thera went to the low country, the enmities he encountered did not stop. The accusation that he was on the side of the Dutch cropped up again and King Rājādhirājasiṃha gave orders to Dodanvela Nilame of Sabaragamuwa that the Thera be brought in custody. Being a great friend of the Thera, the Nilame sent him prior notice

1. SPL. p. 106

2. Mātara Sāhitya tugaya, p. 44

3. See ch. XVI

so that the Thera made good his escape to Colombo and informed the Dutch Government. The Governor who carried on the policy of making hay while the sun shone, promptly made the Thera Nāyaka of the low country. This prelateship was recognised even by the British Government as is evident from ancient documents.<sup>1</sup>

Among his pupils who have left undying names in the field of religious and literary activity are the monks, Gāllē Medhaṅkara. Mihiripōnnē Dhammaratana, Bentara Atthadassē, John Doyle and Ālapāta Kiviṇḍu.<sup>2</sup>

#### Bōvala Thera.

Bōvala Dhammānanda Thera was ordained under Maniratana Thera who was a pupil of Vataraggoḍa Dharmapāla Thera, chief incumbent of Mulkirigala Raja Mahā Vihāre. Having gone to Kandy during the time of the Vālivita Saṅgharāja, he studied under Daramitipola Dhammarakkita Thera and Attaragama Rājaguru Baṇḍāra and became a pioneer of the literary renaissance of the South. When the British occupied the island their main headache was the influence of these two theras of Karatōṭa and Bōvala.<sup>3</sup>

Bōvala's chief pupils were Ambagahapitiye

1. Buddhist Commission's Report. pp. 47, 49.

2. MMV. p. 162.

3. BCR. pp. 47, 49.

Nāpavimalatissa Thera, Kalutara Guparatanatissa Thera, and Vidyālaṅkāra Brāhmaṇa Pandita who were themselves veterans in Buddhist religious activities.

Galle Medhaṅkara Thera

This monk who was a pupil of Karatota Dhammārāma, established a seat of learning at Pāmadulla and thereby spread his literary activity. He obtained the chief prelateship over Śrī Pāda. Among his pupils were Valāne<sup>1</sup> Sidhārta, Induruve Sumaṅgala, Doḍampahala Dīpaṅkara, Vaskaḍuve Subhūti and Mīgahagoda Ratanapāla. Of them Valāne<sup>1</sup> Sidhārta Thera established the Paramadhamma Cetiya Pirivepa at Ratmalāna and produced such men of letters as Baṭuvantudāve Devarakkhita, Ratmalāne Dhammāloka and Hikkaḍuve Śrī Sumaṅgala Theras.<sup>1</sup> It was Ratmalāne Dhammāloka and Hikkaḍuve Śrī Sumaṅgala Theras mentioned above, who established Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivepa and Vidyodaya Pirivepa which are the chief centres of oriental learning at present in Ceylon.

Mihiripāṇne Dhammaratana Thera too produced such eminent pupils as Koggala Dhammatilake, Tuḍāve Paṇḍita Gupwardena and Siṭṭināmaluve Thera (junior). Of them, Koggala Dhammatilake ~~Thera~~ started the newspaper called Lakmipipahana and proved himself to be a great debator in the 'Savsattham Vādaya'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Karatota Vata. p.64.

2. Mātara Sāhitya Yugaya. pp. 123, 128.

Bentara Atthadassi Thera too living at Vanavāsa temple of Bentara produced learned pupils like Ambagahavatte Sarapaṅkara, Vāligama Sumaṅgala, Yātrāmulle Dharmārāma and Potuvila Indajoti Theras. Of them Ambagahavatte Sarapaṅkara Thera started the Rāmañña Nikāya, and Vāligama Sumaṅgala and Yātrāmulla Dharmārāma Theras became scholars who were reputed even outside the island.<sup>1</sup>

#### Akurāssē Thera

This Thera, being a pupil of Agalakaḍa Nāyaka Thera studied under Hālyāle Maṇiratana Thera and became chief prelate of the two disāvas Mātara and Hambantoḷa. He lived at the Rajamahā Vihāra at Goḍapiṭṭiya in Matara and ranked high among the scholars of Mātara.

#### Kirama Dhammānanda Thera.

This Thera too studied under Hālyāle Maṇiratana Thera and was a pupil of Akalakaḍa Nāyaka Thera. A great poet like his master, he composed in verse, Siyabasmaldama, Kāñcanadevikatāva and the Nandīya Veḷaṇḍa Vata, and in prose, a grammar by the name of Vibat Maldama.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, he is accredited with writing the Sambulā Jātakaya, Devadharma Jātakaya Stutipūja Kāvya and the Pretavastuva. Being the author of so many literary works, Kirama Dhammānanda Thera

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1. MMV. pp. 165-166.

2. Godakumbure, Dr. C.E. (Sinhalese Literature) Ch. XV.

rendered immortal service to the literature of the Mātara period.

Denagama Thera

His full name is Denagama Dharmakīrti Śrī Guparatana. He was a clever astrologer and a composer of spell-verse.<sup>1</sup> Having Kandeḃādde Thera as his preceptor, he was the chief pupil of Ransāgoḁa Dhammasiddhi Thera.

Galātumbe Piyadassi

Ransāgoḁa Thera was his preceptor and Hālyāle Mapiratana was his tutor. He had many pupils who rendered much service to literature and the arts.

These scholarly monks and laymen, having inherited all the learning which the Saṅgharāja disseminated at Kandy, went down to the South of the island and were mainly responsible for the great literary awakening in the south, which is evident to this day.

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1. Mātara Sāhitya Yugaya. p.65.



CHAPTER XVIIIContemporaries

Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara, had many distinguished contemporaries both natives and foreigners. He lived during the reigns of the Ceylon kings, Vira Parākrama Narendrasīṃha, Śrī Vijayarājasīṃha and Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha. It is not necessary to give details of the life and times of these kings as mention has already been made in the earlier chapters.<sup>1</sup> The famous Kandyan Adigārs Ranmolavaka and Ahālēpola lived during Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkar's life time.

Ranmolavaka

Ranmolavaka, the Chief Adigār during the reign of Vira Parākrama Narendrasīṃha, enjoyed great repute as a scholar.<sup>2</sup> But his inability even to understand the Sanskrit stanza beginning 'vidvāneva vijānāti' is an index to his intellectual attainments. King Narendrasīṃha caused the death of Ranmolavaka on a charge of conspiracy to murder the king<sup>3</sup> by impaling the king on the bank of Mahavāli where the king used to bathe.

Ahālēpola

Ahālēpola was the chief Adigār of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha. He was the person sent to Trincomalee to receive

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1. See Ch. I, II.

2. SSC. p.7.

3. Senkaṭṭagala Itihāsayā - Karuṇātilāka.

the Siamese bhikkhus who were brought to Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> He ceremoniously escorted these Siamese bhikkhus to Kandy. Muṅkoṭuве Rāla describes this event in the following verses:-

When the foreign monks landed from the ocean,  
He who had been ordered to go and welcome them  
Was the famous chief captain, Ahālēpola by name,  
There was a tumult of five-fold music in that festival.

For the procession in which the foregoing monks came  
The lawful citizens of Ceylon were gathered;  
As if they were to incur the whole expenditure  
The chief ministers proceeded forth with great pomp<sup>2</sup>

Ahālēpola was of great help in the upasampadā ceremonies which followed the visit of these bhikkhus. It is said that the Vijayasundarārāmaya Temple at Asgiriya was built by him.

#### Palkumbure Atthadassi

One of the most important ecclesiastical contemporaries of the Saṅgharāja was the Sāmapera Palkumbure Atthadassi. The last portion of Bālāvatāra was learnt by Sarapaṅkara, when he was a Sāmapera under the guidance of Atthadassi.<sup>3</sup> It was this

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1. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya (photostat copy)

2. SRV. vv. 154, 155.

3. SSC. p.3.

that led Sarapaṅkara Thera to hold in high esteem Sāmapera Palkumbure Atthadassi who was himself a pupil of Vaṭabuluve Pipḍapātika Mahā Thera. Vaṭabuluve Pipḍapātika Mahā Thera received upasampadā during the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya II, and was the last of the Mahānāyaka Theras.<sup>1</sup> When during the reign of Viraparākrama, Sarapaṅkara then a sāmāyera, undertook to preach the Dhamma to the Brahmin, he first made obeisance to Sāmapera Atthadassi and obtained his permission.<sup>2</sup> It can be concluded that Atthadassi died before Sāmapera Sarapaṅkara could receive upasampadā.

#### Sitiṇāmuluve Thera

Sitiṇāmuluve having been born in the village of Sitiṇāmuluve in Taṅgalle became known at first as the right hand disciple of the Saṅgharāja from the days when the Saṅgharāja was a Sāmapera. Sāmapera Sarapaṅkara whilst living in the rock-cave of Alagalla learnt the first part of Bālāvatāra from Levuke Rāla and secretly taught Sitiṇāmuluve.<sup>3</sup> Sitiṇāmuluve who was formerly a Pious One and was the first in their line under the Sāmapera Sarapaṅkara helped in great measure in Sarapaṅkara's religious and literary activities. Sitiṇāmuluve's name has gone down the history as the pioneering spirit behind the religious and literary revival in the South. Of the

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1. Munigupālaṅkāraya, see Ch. 17. xv/  
 2. See Ch. X.  
 3. See Ch. X.

two branches of Mūṭkingala and Vāhālla, Siṭṭināmaluve was the first guru of Vāhālla. When the Siamese monks arrived in Ceylon and revived the ordination he was old in years and after receiving ordination he entrusted all his work to his chief pupil Vāhālla Dhammadinna. The famous lay-poets of the South namely Barapaṅgita and Pattāyame Lekam were his pupils.<sup>1</sup> His line of pupils is still extant.

#### Ilupāṅgamuve Thera

Ilupāṅgamuve is considered to be the second disciple of Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja. From the time Sarapaṅkara originated his 'Silvat Samāgama' Ilupāṅgamuve was of great help to Sarapaṅkara Sāmaṇera. He was a 'pious one' even before the origination of the Pious Sect. He spared no efforts to develop the Pious Sect and before the demise of Ilupāṅgamuve, the last Mahā Thera he received the Sāmaṇera-hood.<sup>2</sup> He worked for the development of Tissava Vihāra built by the Saṅgharāja. Afterwards he went on pilgrimage to Anurādhapura and worked for the welfare of the Aṭṭasthāna and passed away whilst engaged in that activity. It is said that the parapet wall surrounding the Jaya Srī Mahābodhi was built by him.

#### Kadirāgoḍa Thera

Kadirāgoḍa was the third disciple of the Saṅgharāja

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1. Mātara Sāhitya Yugaya (Weerasuriya) p. 90.  
2. SSC. p.19.

and helped in the work of the Pious Sect. He was himself a Pious One before the origin of the Silvat Samāgama. He entered the order under Hulangamuve Mahā Thera as a Sāmaṇera and received the Higher Ordination under Upāli Mahā Thera. Afterwards he devoted his time to the development of the Order and to literary work. Kadirāgoḍa built the pōyage and other buildings of the Diyasunnata Vihāra in Rambukkana. His chief pupil was Diyasunnata Dhammajoti Thera. Dhammajoti Thera wrote a commentary on Bālāvatāra<sup>1</sup> on a bed of sand and wrote a Sinhalese book entitled Yoga Piṭakaya dealing with the Dhātu Mañjūsa. In addition Dhammajoti Thera was greatly helped in Kadirāgoḍa's religious and literary activities. Kadirāgoḍa passed away at the Diyasunnata Vihāra. His line of pupils is yet extant.

#### Golahēnvatte Novice

From the time that Sarapaṅkara started his Dhamma campaign the Mahānāyaka novice at Asgiriya was Golahēnvatte. Golahēnvatte was a famous Pāli scholar and it is believed that the Pāli Sandesaya sent from Asgiriya to Siam, inviting the Siamese monks to Ceylon, was composed by him.<sup>2</sup> But before Upāli Thera could arrive in Ceylon he passed away. Golahēnvatte (junior) was his pupil.

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1. This is called "oka ādapola sanne".

2. Ms. Kuśalakriyaun Sandesāya.

### Kobbākaḍuve Thera

He was the Mahānāyaka Gapinnānse of Pōyamalu Vihāra. At first Sarapaṅkara had to meet bitter opposition<sup>1</sup> at the hands of Kobbākaḍuve. During king Vīraparākrama Mareṇḍrasīṃha's reign he was the Disāve of Puttalam and Basnāyaka Nilame of Four Devāles of Uḍunuvara. On the occasion of the coronation of Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṃha he bestowed on the king the Royal title.<sup>2</sup> He was the first to receive ordination under the Siamese bhikkhus.<sup>3</sup> Yet he did not receive the first Mahānāyaka-hood of the Malvatu Vihāra. It was received by Tibboṭuvāve Śrī Siddhārta Thera.

### Nāvinne Thera

Nāvinne Gapinnānse who was a contemporary of Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja became the Mahānāyaka of Asṣīriya after Golahānvatte. He was the second Sinhalese bhikkhu to receive ordination at the hands of the Siamese bhikkhus. Yet he was not appointed Mahānāyaka of Asgiriya. The honour fell upon Urulāvatte Dhammasiddhi Thera. When the Dutch invaded Kandy in 1756 he saved the Daḷadā from the depredations of the Dutch and escaped to Hunnasgiriya.<sup>4</sup> Kurunāgala documents indicate that he was instrumental in developing several vihāras in Kurunāgala, including Atkaṇḍa Vihāra.

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1. See Ch. X.

2. CA. Vol. II, p.1212.

3. See Ch. XII.

4. UV. pp. 81-84.

Levuke Rāla

Levuke Rāla was a prominent figure during this period. Sarapaṅkara, whilst a Sāmaṇera learnt the Satipaṭṭhāṇa Sūtra and Bālāvatāra Part I, from Levuke Rāla.<sup>1</sup> Levuke Rāla having displeased the king was imprisoned at Mākehelvala. He was a pupil of Vaṭabuluve Mahā Thera. As he had been a monk but had given up his robes he was also called Vihāre Rālahāmy. It can be concluded that he was imprisoned for having joined in the conspiracy to put Gascon to death.<sup>2</sup>

When the conspiracy against Gascon succeeded it is said that King Vīra Parākrama entrusted the task of killing Gascon, to Levuke Rāla. The following verses serves as testimony:-

mīṭa upā bas nokiyan laṇḍa maṭa apa karayi  
 kāta kiyā sēnasemḍō laṇḍa liya maṭa dukayi  
 bohō kalak laṇḍa apa māruvē maruvā tamayi  
 tun pā pasukara levukē baṇḍāraṭa kiyayi<sup>3</sup>

Oh, woman as I have been ordered don't advise me;  
 Whom shall I inform and console myself when I am sad;  
 Woman, this is the killer who murdered us many a time,  
 This will be told to Levuke Baṇḍāra three hours later.

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1. SSC. p.3.
  2. Vide 'Gascon'
  3. Ms. Nōkkaḍumālaya

The king learnt that the appeal of Gascon was concealed by Levuke Baṇḍāra. 'Hōkkadumālaya'<sup>1</sup> contains verses which are supposed to have been uttered by Gascon and the references to Levuke Rāla therein may be to the same person indicated in this section. It has been related above how Sūriyagoḍa Sāmapera, Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja's teacher had been caught in Gascon's conspiracy.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it may be possible to deduce that Levuke Rāla was imprisoned at Mākehelvala for the same reason. Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja was ever grateful to Levuke Rāla for instruction in Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta. Levuke Rāla was the son-in-law of Dāmauvāve Disāva.

#### Gascon

Gascon, a foreigner was a court favourite during the time of Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṅha. His full name was Pedro Gascon.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to accept the version that he was named 'Gascon' because he was found under a Kōn tree.<sup>4</sup> Today he is known by the name of 'Daskon'. He was the son of a Frenchman, Gascon who came to Kandy with the French Naval Commander La Hae, and was imprisoned by Rājasiṅha II. His mother was Portuguese. Pedro Gascon was the only son, there was also a daughter. It may be surmised that he learnt Sinhalese

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1. Ms. Photostat copy obtained from the British Museum.
  2. See Ch. XI.
  3. LEJG. p.59.
  4. SSL. p.149.



from Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera. Gascon born a Calvinist, was able to win the favour of King Vimaladharmasūrya II and lived with his mother and sister near the palace at Haṅguranketa. Having studied Sinhalese under a bhikkhu he was an adept at versifying. He sided with King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha when the people revolted against the king.<sup>1</sup> As a result, he obtained the Chief Adigārship. This fact is mentioned in Gonzalvez's biography.

Whatever the case may have been he occupied a high and esteemed place in the King's Court. King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha's special favours to Gascon and his other foreign acquaintance led to the growth of dissatisfaction among the Sinhalese.<sup>2</sup> The king very often consulted the opinion of foreigners such as Gascon, Conzalvez and de Lanerolle. Gascon arranged debates among the foreigners and thus provided entertainment for the king. As a result of his close intimacy with the king, Gascon had easy access to the king's palace. Being a libertine he was adept at composing lyrical poetry. King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha later suspected him of having an intimacy with the queen and had him executed.<sup>3</sup> The story relating to his incident is as follows:-

1. See Ch. I.

2. See Ch. I.

3. Siṃhala Sāhitya Lipi. p.150.

In order to evoke the blessings of the deities on the queen a devil dancing ceremony, requiring the image of the queen was in preparation. The sculptor had included a birth-mark that was on the thigh of the queen in the image. The king was amazed and questioned the sculptor. He said that the Adigār, Gascon had informed him of the birth mark. This proved Gascon's intimacy with the queen and the king had him beheaded.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. James Alwis<sup>2</sup> has given a critical account of the above incident. According to Mr. J. Alwis, Gascon was a contemporary of Rājasinha II. Gascon was in love with the queen and it was known that he had exchanged love poems with her. One of Gascon's poems runs thus:-

Your body is adorned with gold necklace,

I assure you that it develops my love towards you.

Though a golden vessel is hung amidst five thousand

Does not a weevil dig into it, who is accustomed to it?<sup>3</sup>

As a reply to this verse the queen is said to have recited the following verse:-

Do the wayfarers refrain from travel on this way

by day and night?

Do the drinkers pollute the water in this river and

drink?

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1. Purāṇa Siṃhala Sivupada, p.158.

2. Introduction to Sidatsaṅgarāva (1865 Edition)

3. Purāṇa Siṃhala Sivupada. p.158.

Do the knowers of sensual contact invite the others  
to have sensual contact?

Do not the cunning open the belled door?<sup>1</sup>

Their intimacy lasted for some time and it became an open secret not only at the Court but even among the populace. A sister of the queen had warned Gascon about the danger of this illicit intimacy thus:-

Why did the ancient sages learn the letters?

Is juggery thrown in the wilderness till it dissolves?

Bees are destroyed by the scent of the camphor flower,

Oh, wicked youth don't do nonsense knowingly.<sup>2</sup>

'Sumu/gudā Kava' composed at this time might have taken this as the theme. It was composed by Cannoruve Mahāsena Thera, at the invitation of king Viṛa Parākrama Narendrasīha. It describes how a certain Rākṣasa had guarded a woman by putting her in a casket in his stomach. Yet despite these precautions, she had illicit intimacy with a Viḍyādhara. The author's purpose may have been either to assuage the mind of the King or to shed new light on the Gascon recently.

In the meantime, the public resentment against Gascon and his foreign friends had mounted. The immediate cause of

1. Ibid.

2. Sinhalese Literature. Ch. XV.

this was the dedication by Gascon of certain books written by Gonzalvez which were likely to mislead the Monarch.<sup>1</sup> Gonzalvez says that the cause of Gascon's death was the conspiracy by the Sinhalese chiefs. Hugh Nevill mentions a certain monk as the ring-leader of this conspiracy. There is room to believe that the monk mentioned was none other than Sūriyagoda Sāmaṇera.<sup>2</sup>

Two poems believed to have been recited by the queen when Gascon was taken to the place of imprisonment, are available. They run thus:-

Bee, without enjoying the nectar of wild flowers  
in three seasons,  
Alights on the temples of the elephant and is attacked  
by the flap of ears.  
Having been caught by the king who resembles the flap  
of ears,  
O dear one, why do you grieve now?

Friendship was cultivated in the walking compound,  
Did you drink the nectar of lips given delightfully?  
Alas! are you going on a quick journey?  
O Daskon, do you sacrifice your life in my name?<sup>3</sup>

1. Ch. I.

2. Ethnology Vol. III. p.61 (Hugh Nevill)

3. Purāṇa Sīṃhala Sīvupada. p.159.

When Gascon heard these two verses, he is said to have responded by reciting the following verse:-

Without enjoying the sensual contact of his own queen  
The king of Ten Heads sacrificed his heads only for  
the mere sight of beauty.

Then why should I who enjoyed your ambrosial contact  
Rapine with my own head for the sake of you?<sup>1</sup>

While Gascon was in prison his enemies were not idle outside. Though Gascon was imprisoned, they knew the degree of the king's affection for Gascon. The King expected a message from Gascon begging pardon. While in prison Gascon had composed a poem called 'Nōkkaḍumālaya' but while in transit to the king, it fell into the hands of Gascon's enemies.<sup>2</sup> This message was hidden by Gascon's enemies. As the king had not received any request from Gascon, he confirmed his earlier sentence and Gascon was beheaded by Levuke Baṇḍāra.

Some time later the king realized the situation. Becoming enraged the king did not hesitate to punish those guilty of complicity in putting Gascon to death. Is it impossible to conclude that the death of Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera and the imprisonment of Levuke Rāla at Mākehelvala were the direct consequences of this execution? The contention of

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1. Purāṇa Siṃhala Sivupada. p.158.

2. Ibid.

Sir D.B. Jayatilake<sup>1</sup> that Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera too was executed because of his illicit intimacy with the Royal harem, cannot be maintained in this light. But the fact of the encouragement of an anti-Buddhist campaign by the King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha by accepting 'Buddha Bapa Praktyaksaya' may have caused some resentment among the population. But the rivals took revenge not from the king but from Gascon. However, is it also not possible that the love letters purported to have been exchanged between Gascon and the queen, were forgeries introduced into the hands of the king by Gascon's enemies?

Gascon died in 1721 A.C.<sup>2</sup> Though a Frenchman by nationality, and a very able poet in Sinhalese, Gascon had composed, Vīra Parāṅkarama Narendrasīṃha-Rājastutiya, Śṛṅgārāya, Śrī Nāmāya, Nōkkaḍumālāya among his lyrical works.

#### Father Gonzalvez

Gonzalvez was a Kongani Brahmin born in India. It is essential to know something of Jacome Gonzalvez who had tremendous influence over Kandyan kings during the early period of Sarapaṅkara Thera. Though a Brahmin by birth, Gonzalvez was ordained a Catholic priest at Goa.<sup>3</sup> After his education he was a linguist with erudition in the Portugese language.

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1. Sīṃhala Sāhitya Lipi, p.148.
  2. LFJG p.67.
  3. Ibid pp. 1-17.

Gonzalvez who came to Ceylon in 1705 was a lieutenant to Father Joshph Vaz who later, won the confidence and favour of King Vimaladharmasūriya II.<sup>1</sup> After his missionary activities in the Vavunia, he came to Kandy to spread the Catholic faith. Jacome Gonzalvez who had learnt Sinhalese from a Buddhist monk, won the confidence of the new king Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha, who ascended the throne in 1707 at the death of Vimaladharmasūrya II. After the death of Father Joseph Vaz, Gonzalvez became the Chief Catholic priest in charge of the missionary activities in the Kandyan and Sītāvaka districts. Gonzalvez was an able preacher, and debater. The King was extremely pleased with him, after a debate at the Court with a Calvinist called de Lanerolle.<sup>2</sup>

But due to an ailment of the jaw he had to abandon his preaching. This gave him an opportunity to write a large number of books in Sinhalese and Tamil. So delighted was the king with him that he granted Gonzalvez a site at Hañguranketa near the palace, to build a church.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes to win the favour of the monarch, Gonzalvez brought diamonds from Goa as royal presents. When the king accepted with pleasure a book he had written attacking Buddhism, the people became restive.

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1. JRAS Vol. XXXV. No. 96, p.174.

2. LFJG. p. 44

3. See Ch. I.

The cause of Gascon's death and Gonzalvez's imprisonment were direct results of this anti-Buddhist campaign. Though the king had granted a site for a church at Kaccirāva, it had to be shifted to Bōlavatta owing to opposition from the king. Gonzalvez was considered the Chief adviser of King Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha until the latter's death. It is said that Saraṇāṅkara Thera was banished from Kandy on the advice of Gonzalvez. This is evident in his biography.<sup>1</sup> He had the audacity to disrobe, baptise and send to Goa a leading Buddhist monk who came to Colombo. Gonzalvez did not like the new king Sri Vijaya Rājasiṃha who was acting on the advice of Sāmaṇera Saraṇāṅkara.<sup>2</sup> In spite of that Gonzalvez wrote a book 'Budu Mula' and presented it to the king; later, with the consolidation of the power with the help of the Buddhist monks, king Vijaya Rājasiṃha had to bow his head to them and the Catholics found their position in Kandy becoming precarious. Therefore Gonzalvez retired to Bōlavatta to spend the evening of his life. He had written altogether 42 books.<sup>3</sup> Gonzalvez who died in 1742 at Bōlavatta occupies a very honoured place in the spread of Catholicism in Ceylon.

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1. LFJG. p.104.

2. See Ch. XI.

3. JRAS. Vol. XXXVI. No. 96.



CHAPTER XIXThe Shortcomings of the Saṅgharāja

The name of Vālivita Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja will be written in letters of gold in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, for the multiple services he rendered to the sāsaṇa and to the learning of the Dharma. It is an accepted fact that he was the pioneer of the religious and literary revival which is evident today.<sup>1</sup> However, he was not altogether perfect. When one examines his life story critically, certain weaknesses can be discovered. Let us therefore examine his life impartially

From the very advent of Buddhism to Ceylon, it has been historically proved, that monks had taken their share in the civil administration. Even Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja who was of humble origin could not escape this responsibility. As shown in the earlier chapters<sup>2</sup> of this work, who can justify the enthronement of Nāyakkars on the Sinhalese throne at the death of Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṅha? However just a king & etāra was, the Buddhist monks joined with Duṭṭugāmuṇi and opposed him, because he was nevertheless a foreign king.<sup>3</sup> Some of the Tamil rulers such as Paṇḍu, Pārinda, Kuḍā Pārinda,

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1. See Chs. I and XI.

2. See Ch. I.

3. Mahāvamsa Ch. 25.

Tiṭṭara, Dāṭhiya, Pīṭhiya, who ruled Ceylon during the Dhātusena period were also Buddhists.<sup>1</sup> But in the struggle to oust these foreign rulers the Buddhist monks helped Dhātusena because they were primarily foreigners. Thus we see that during critical moments of our country's history the Buddhist monks had risen to save not only the religion, but also the nation.

After Vīra Parākrama Narendrasīṃha's death the throne should have gone to Unambuve Baṇḍāra.<sup>2</sup> He was a son of the late king. Vijayarājasiṃha was a brother of the queen of Narendrasīṃha who was brought from Madura. Apart from being the pupil of Sarapaṅkara Saṅgharāja, and also the brother of the queen, Vijayarājasiṃha had no other title to the throne. Some of the chiefs and the two chapters of Pōyamaṭṭu and Asgriya were not enthusiastic over this.

But the chiefs were divided among themselves and the Saṅgha was weak and ineffective. The saṅgharāja, making use of his popularity made Vijayarājasiṃha the king<sup>3</sup> and while he was responsible for this, the Sinhalese ministers were passive spectators. But this event was a turning point in the history of Ceylon. The decline brought about by this event lasted right down to the fall of the Sinhalese kingdom at Kandy.

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1. Slab inscription of Khuḍḍa Pārinda (Epigraphica Zeylonica Vol. IV part 3.).

2. See Ch. I.

3. See Ch. XI.

Sarapaṅkara Thera would have been compelled to adopt this course by his desire to rule through his pupil.

The Saṅgharāja is said to be aware of the conspiracy to kill King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha at the Malvatta Vihāra.<sup>1</sup> As the Saṅgharāja he was in duty bound either to scotch the conspiracy or to inform the king of the same. But the silence of the Saṅgharāja brought about dire consequences. This shows that he had no sense of practical politics or presence of mind. Though the Saṅgharāja had brought ordination to Asgiriya and Malvatta and took a keen interest in reviving the Sāsana he could not reconcile the rivalry between the two chapters. Though Malvatta is supposed to be the centre of Grāmaṇvāsī Bhikkus<sup>2</sup> and Asgiriya the centre of Vanavāsī Bhikkus<sup>2</sup>, yet we find that their origin is the same. Asgiriya is a very ancient temple. Malvatta belongs to Hantāne Temple, which itself is a branch of the Asgiriya.

The Royal Park was later turned into the Malvatta temple<sup>2</sup> by king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha after a number of buildings had been erected there.<sup>3</sup> After the bringing of the Higher Ordination from Siam the Pōyamalu Vihāra monks took charge of the Malvatta temple as well. In this way we can consider

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1. Sāsanaṇvatirṇa Varṇanāva, p.26.

2. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya.

3. See Ch. XIV.

Malvatta as a section of the Asgiriya temple itself.

There was ill feeling on the part of the Asgiriya Chapter towards Malvatta, as if the latter had tried to outshine Asgiriya by arrogating to itself the royal patronage and the attendance of higher state officials. At the beginning of the Ordination, Asgiriya had a temple for its monks adjoining Malvatta at Tiṅgolvela, but later it was abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to ordination the Sāmaperas of both Chapters lived in harmony but with the ordination an unhealthy rivalry began. The main cause of this was the tendency of Malvatta to belittle Asgiriya. In retaliation the Asgiriya monks said that theirs was the original place and tried to glorify it.

The Saṅgharāja Thera collected the monks of both chapters in Malvatta and they held the rituals and ceremonials of monkhood jointly but this practice died out soon.<sup>2</sup> The rivalry had actually created great distress in the mind of the Saṅgharāja.

The Nāyakkār Tamil Kings too tried to consolidate themselves in power by permitting the division among the Saṅgha. Thus, after the death of the Saṅgharāja, the monks could not unanimously elect a Saṅgharāja and that office lapsed.

1. Ibid.

2. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya.

At the time of the re-introduction<sup>1</sup> of ordination the powers of the Saṅgharāja were unlimited. When there were no fundamental differences between the two chapters, and they were all ordained by the same bhikkhus brought from Siam, the practice of allowing them to function separately created the germs of future rivalry.<sup>2</sup> Later when the two chapters were allowed to perform Ordination ceremonies separately, the gap widened.

After the demise of the Saṅgharāja the situation deteriorated. The incumbent monks of both Chapters started to accuse and abuse<sup>3</sup> each other. The declaration of Yaṭanvala Mahānāyake of Asgiriya, that ordination should be one outside the limits of the "sīmā" evoked a collective protest from the monks of the Malvatta. This serves to illustrate the burning rivalry between them. In a work by a Malvatte monk, called "Sīmāsaṅkara Vinodani"<sup>4</sup> this incident is portrayed thus:-

assagiri vihārasmiṃ  
yatinā nāyakenatu  
yaṭanvala samaññena  
saheka bhikkhu saṃghati

- 
1. Ms. Malvatu Vihāra Rājāvaliya.
  2. SAV. p.26.
  3. SAV. p.26.
  4. CPL. Mss. 47 (W.A. de Silva).

upasampada kamma<sub>ssa</sub>  
mahākkhandhaka pāliyā  
sīmā na dassitā tasmā  
asīmāyampi vaṭṭati

In the Monastery of Asgiri  
The chief monk  
Who was named Yaṭanvala  
With the bhikkhus of the chapter said,  
That for the upasampadā ceremony  
In the Text of Mahākkhandhaka<sup>1</sup>  
The Sīmā was not defined  
Therefore it was proper even in a non-Sīmā

Saying this the monks of the Asgiriya Chapter are said to have held the upasampadā even in places not considered as Sīmās. Allegations were made by the monks of the Malvatta Chapter against Asgiriya bhikkhus and consequently a great dispute between the Chapters arose. It had gone to such an extent that this matter was brought to the notice of the British District Judge in Kandy,<sup>2</sup> after the annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom. But the British Judge did not like to interfere in this matter, and as a result their controversy continued.

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1. Mahāvagga Pāli.

2. Introduction to Sīmāsaṅkara Vinodanī, edited by Kaṇḍanapīṭiya Guṇānanda Thera.

The Saṅgharāja had the power to amalgamate these two fraternities into one and keep it under the administration of one Mahā Nāyaka Thera. Had he done so such a traditional dispute would not have arisen. At this time there was no considerable difference between these Chapters to justify the existence of two Fraternities namely the Grāhavāsa and Vanavāsa. It is quite clear that this difference was used not as a means to revive the ecclesiastical principles as in the Kōṭṭe period but as a means to strengthen their claims to temples and to criticise one another. The monks of the Asgiriya Chapter attacked those of Malvatta saying that they seized the ancient temples such as Śrī Pāda, Aṭamasthāna of Anurādhapura and Mulgirigala which were formerly under the control of the Asgiri Chapter and alleged that owing to the wrongs committed by the Malvatta monks, the lives of the Siamese monks and of Paranātala Nāyaka Thera were lost.<sup>1</sup> Sarapaṅkara had been appointed the Saṅgharāja with kingly powers vested in him. If he had acted intelligently and used his powers he could have established harmony between the two Chapters if only for a time.

Another difference that emerged to the surface during the life-time of the Saṅgharāja was that between the Up-country

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1. Indāsabhāvarāṇa Caritaya. pp. 85-91.

and Low-country.<sup>1</sup> This difference which originated in the greed for position among the Chief High Monks of Malvatta temple itself, regarding the incumbency of places such as Śrī Pāda, and the Nāyaka-hood of the Low-country, exists today. The dispute became deep-seated when Vālivita Sarapaṅkara Thera, a grandson of the Saṅgharāja, claimed the incumbency of Śrī Pāda, that belonged to the Vāhālle line. Low-country and Up-country differences were aggravated by the rival claims of the Karatoṭa and Moratoṭa theras for the office of Nāyakaship of the Low-country.<sup>2</sup> Owing to these differences the Up-country monks of the Malvatta Chapter treated their Low-country brethren rather contemptuously. This explains why those monks of Malvatta in the low-country were compelled to form into a separate ecclesiastical organization called 'Śrī Kalyāṇī Sāmāgri dharma Mahā Saṅgha Sabhā'.<sup>3</sup>

Ultimately the Saṅgharāja who was dedicated to the service of the Sāsana had to bow his head to the wishes of his stubborn pupils, aristocrats who were devoid of piety, and king Kīrti Śrī who was a half Hindu and half Buddhist.<sup>4</sup> The Saṅgharāja Sarapaṅkara was unable to associate closely with Siṭṭināmaluve, Ilupāngamuve, Kadirgōḍa who were his trusted and principled disciples.

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1. See Ch. XIV.

2. Ibid.

3. Indāsabhavarāṇāna Caritaya. pp. 11, 12.

4. SAV. p.22.



Immediately after their ordination these noble monks departed to outlying districts for missionary activities and took counsel with those monks who had received ordination on the king's orders and others who were land-owners perpetuating old ways. Apart from Tibboṭuvāva Sñī Buddharakkita, Moratoṭa Sñī Dhammak<sup>u</sup>kanda Theras and a few others, the rest of the monks belonged to this corrupt category. As a result of the impious (anti-vinaya) ways of these monks, the Saṅgharāja had to hold two Katikāvats or Agreements during his lifetime.

The impious and reactionary policies of corrupt monks reached their climax during the reign of King Rājādhi Rājasimha. Monks had their relations taken into the robes with the sole purpose of inheriting temple lands. Others earned their living from unorthodox occupations. This fact comes to light from the Agreement or Katikāvata held by King Rājādhi Rājasimha under the leadership of Moratoṭa Dhammak<sup>u</sup>kanda Nāyaka Thera. Even the Saṅgharāja does not seem to have escaped these influences, since he had the incumbency of Gaḍalādepiya and Sūriyagoḍa temples granted to his closely related pupils.<sup>1</sup> This cannot be construed as a malpractice. But such actions resulted in disturbing the unity of the Saṅgha and gave a new lease of life to the relative pupillary system.

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1. See Ch. XV.

Earlier it was described that there is no place for the caste system in Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> Upāli Thera had ordination conferred upon a host of monks irrespective of their caste. It is said that Siṭṭināmaluve Thera the right-hand disciple of the Saṅgharāja was one such instance.<sup>2</sup> Even the original incumbent of the Mulkirigala line was supposed to have received the ordination when caste was ignored. Though the earlier admission to the Saṅgha was done irrespective of caste, later it became confined to one caste alone.

The story came to the ears of King Kīrtiśrī that those monks who belonged to inferior castes acted as drummers, washermen, pingo carriers and even paid homage to lay nobles. Many such monks came and worshipped the King at Mahiyaṅgana.<sup>3</sup> When the king made enquiries he found that they were people from inferior castes who had taken to robes. Then king Kīrtiśrī had a number of the saṅgha assembled inclusive of the Saṅgharāja and ordered that henceforth no person outside the Govigama caste was to be admitted to the order. Thirty two monks said to belong to inferior castes were banished to the Jaffna peninsula. The monks of inferior castes were even prohibited from giving ordination.

1. See Chs. IV, V.

2. SAV. p. 21. (Siṭṭināmaluve is said to have belonged to the Durāve Caste.).

3. MPP. VV. 104, 105.

Here the company of pious ones was the one formed by the Saṅgharāja during his youth. It included members from many castes. The royal order therefore affected mostly these pious companions and not the members of the two Chapters. But the Saṅgharāja had the opportunity of convincing King Kīrtisīrī who was merely a half Buddhist, ignorant of Buddhist doctrines. The monks who belonged to inferior castes may have engaged in their lay occupation, not owing to the rigour of service tenure (Rājakāriya) but through ignorance of religious precepts. The remedy was not the banning of those of inferior castes but a thorough indoctrination after their entering the robes. The royal order was an added incentive and inducement to those who wanted to perpetuate the caste system. By encouraging without protest, such a caste ban on the members of the Pious Company which he had initiated and who were his constant supporters in happiness and woe did not the Sangaraja, kick the ladder which helped him to climb up to a position? The Buddha Sāsana once again was confined to one caste. The inevitable result of this short-sighted policy was to bring forth many sects representing different castes and thus shatter the unity of the Sāsana.<sup>1</sup> The Saṅgharāja may have foreseen these evil consequences, but he lacked courage to fight against this three-fold influence.

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1. Nikāya Saṅgraha - Appendix.

Though there were periodical councils or Katikāvats, yet their rules were violated by the authors themselves. The Rājādhi Rājasin<sup>h</sup> Katikāvata prohibited the private grant of lands to monks, but the king himself revoked it by granting the village of Pallebādde to Karatoṭa Thera.<sup>1</sup> Though monks were prohibited to hold high state offices, King Kīrtisīri himself violated the rule by conferring the rank of Disāpati of Nuvara Kalāviya on Ilupāṇḍeniye Atthadassi.<sup>2</sup>

These irregularities resulted from the practical necessities of the king's nobles and power hungry monks.<sup>3</sup> The Saṅgarāja was helpless in the face of those developments that occurred during his lifetime. The Moladaṇḍe Rebellion that took place at Malvatta was also a similar occurrence. It was engineered by the power-hungry nobles and the power of adventurist monks. The pioneers of this conspiracy were the group of power-hungry monks of Malvatta and Samarakkoḍi and Moladaṇḍe Adigārs. As the Saṅgharāja had to bow his head to the power of these power-hungry monks he remained silent without divulging the conspiracy.

Even after the re-introduction of ordination to Ceylon and the literary and religious revival, no great change seems to have been brought about. There was a grand opportunity to

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1. See Ch. XVII.

2. This letter is in the possession of the Chief Nāyaka Thera of Uḍa Maluva, Anurādhapura.

3. See Ch. XII.

effect a great cultural revival by explaining the doctrine of Buddha to people accustomed to the worship of devils and deities. The life of Vālivīṭa Saṅgharāja Thera was a pious and exemplary one. But only a few copied his example. The only disciples who lived a life according to rules were away in the provinces engaged in missionary activities. The pupils of the Saṅgharāja who were engaged in missionary activities in the districts of Mātara and Galla were successful in effecting a considerable social change<sup>1</sup> while those around Kandy remained adhered to traditional outworn ways. They were intoxicated by the arrogance of caste and engaged in the building up of temple property. As the public were ignorant of the doctrine of Buddhism, they did not forsake the superstitious worship of deities and evil spirits.<sup>2</sup>

With the hope that people and monks would give up superstitious practices the Saṅgharāja wrote a glossary to the 'Catu Dhāpavāra Pāli'. The commentary had prohibited such mystical practices for similar reasons. Such commentaries published with the sole purpose of focussing the attention of the public on the spirit and bapa pulpits were in vain. The monks who had completely disregarded the precepts of Buddha

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1. See Ch. XVII.

2. See the account on Kuṅkupāve Thera.

against the caste system, engaged in superstitious practices with impunity. As they had given prominence to invoking the blessing of deities and similar superstitious practices, the Buddhist way of life could not be driven home into the minds of the people. Vāgegoḍa Thera who carried on an agitation against these had to die a beggar on the road owing to the wrath of the King.<sup>1</sup> From this survey we can conclude that owing to the efforts of the Saṅgharāja, there was a revival of Buddha Sāsana and a literary Renaissance, yet there was no apparent change in the traditional way of life among the laity and clergy.

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1. Indāsabhavarāñāna Caritaya, p. 102.

Appendix No. 1.

Sarvagunaṇaṇābharaṇavibhūṣita śrīmat śrī utum -  
 Vimaladharmasūryamahārājōttamayāṇanvahanse svargaparāyaṇa  
 vū heyin ē vāḍeṭṭa niyamavū aya vāḍa nima nokora athiṭṭiyāyyin  
 pasu Guṇalaṅkāra Dharmakīrti Bhuvaneka mahaterunvahanse  
 vana mama visin mema vihārasthāne vāḍidivupukara pudaōlakkan  
 siritlesa nokaḍakoṭṭa pavatvāgana hataḷistun avuruddak  
 atikrānta vana avasthāvēdī māgē munuburuvū Ekanāyaka Sumaṅgala  
 Gaṇeṇṭa Asgiri Vihāre ganānāyakapadayiyaṭṭa ayiti gam bim  
 hāra māgē kāyavāyamen mahavāsalaṭṭa pakṣapātava duggena śrī  
 sanhaspiṭṭa labā gat gam bim nam Labutala vī tunumunē  
 vapasariyat Iṭṭa ayiti vatugevatut Maturaṭṭa Kōrlē Pallēgampahaṭṭa  
 ātulatvū Kaḍadoravihārasthānayat Iṭṭa ayiti vihāre mutteṭṭ-  
 upaṅguva bijutunumunē vapasariyat pinarāve bijudepālē  
 vapasariyat Nākatīarāve biju yelāmunē vapasariyat Galkāṭṭiyē  
 biju amunē vapasariyat Gonnagaha arāvē biju depālē vapasari-  
 -yat kurahansēruvakapamaṇa ema Gonnagaha arāvē vattat Bōat  
 arāvē biju amunē vapasariyat ema vattat Koholānē biju amunē  
 vapasariyat Goḍakuṁbura biju depālē vapasariyat Maḍit arāvē  
 biju amunē vapasariyat Hiriyāl oya biju tunpālē vapasariyat  
 vihāravattē kurahan biju delāhē vapasariyat vihāren uḍaha  
 kurahan biju delāhē vapasariyat Kapukoṭṭuvē bijupālē vapasariyat

mema kī gam bim watu gevatu saha potpat ādivū deyada sivuru  
 peṭṭagan dekek da piḷi peṭṭi pahak da rammāla navayak da  
 ridī māla dolahak da ridīvāḍakarapu panhit pahakda yakaḍa  
 panhit aṭakda yakaḍa pātrā doḷahakda dhātūnvahansēlā visitun  
 namk da ran killōṭa dekek da kaḍa kāti eka siya tunak da  
 pēsālēnsu dehatunakda ratnakambiliḍekak da paḍikkan ekoḷahak  
 da pānnavayak da galbāṇḍimāla dekek da varāgan nāliyak da  
 ridīnavasiyapahaḷohak da yana mekī dē saha aviñṇāka saviñṇāka  
 mālat siyaludēma māgē munuburāvana Ekanāyaka Sumaṅgala  
 gaṇeṇṭa demi dinmi - mema kaḷāvū pinkama nirarthakanokara  
 mama kaḷāvū pariddēnma mema vihāraya vāḍiḍivunu karamin  
 pudaōlakkan pavatvā cāritra vāritrāḍiya keremin siṭiṇṭa  
 sudusuya. Esē nolābunēvīnam māgē sahōḍaravū gānu pirimi  
 pas denāgen pāvata ena pin āti kenakun sivuru poravā  
 paḷamu sirit lesa diyuṇukaraṇavāya.

(An extract from the Kaḍadora Grant - JRAS. C.B.Vol.II,  
 New Series, p. 147.)



Appendix No. 2.

Suvisuddha karuṇādi guṇa sampanna śrīghana śāsana  
 pratigrahaḥkāmivū pravrajyāvaṭa pāmiṇi māgē śīśya putra vū  
 siyalu saṅga silvat tātvalaṭa avavāda anusāsanā vaśayen  
 evū vaṭṭoruvehi vaga nam:

Dullabhañca manussattaṃ - Buddhuppādo ca dullabho

Dullabhā khaṇa sampatti - Saddhammo parama dullabho,

Sudullabhaṃ labhitvāna - Pabbajjaṃ jina śāsane

Silādi saṅgahaṃ khemaṃ - Ujumaggaṃ visuddhiyā.

Yanādīn vadāḷa pravrajyā kelavara koṭa āti satara pas  
 dharmayangē sārthakaya piṇisa apa visin Alagalle kiyana  
 parvatāśrayehi āraṇyagatave lobha, dveṣa, madamāna,  
 mātsaryādī akuśala dharmayan mē mē kramayen māḍapavatvamhayi  
 yam sammatayak dharmānvitava sammata karaṇa ladada eyin  
 gilan mahalu ladaru bohō śīśya vargayā visin pirivarana  
 lada bāvinda rājarāja mahāmūtya upāsakādīnta aiha laukika  
 pārālaulikābhivṛddhi vardhanaya koṭa dīmeḥi noyek lesin  
 utsāha karana bāvin da nityayen ātam dharma kenekungē  
 pūraṇayaṭa avakāśa nolābenne vī namut śraddhāven yuktava  
 bohō pin rās keremi. Saṃsāra doṣayen hō kleśa doṣayakin  
 vū vadyayan dharmānukūlava hāriyemi. Topa visinudu  
 opremāda viya yuttēya.

E kesēdayat:

Pohoyen pohoyehi kaḷa nokaḷa varada vicārīmaya, vicāḷa dā  
 nosaṅgavākīmaya, varadak kaḷa viṭaka samīpayehi siṭi yam  
 kenekunṭa danvā dharmānvitava daṅḍuvam viṇḍīmaya, ovunovungē  
 varadak dāka nindā piṇisa hāsyā piṇisa nokiya āsamukhayehi  
 nindā piṇisa nokiya nindā koṭa kiyatudu maitrī karuṇā  
 pūrvāṅgamavu kalyāṇādhyāśāyēn dharmānvita koṭa avavāda  
 labannan visin kavara prakārayen kaḷa avavādayekhidū  
 nokipī bhaktipremayen piḷigata yuttēya. Dedene ku ovunovun  
 korē bhedayaṭa nisi praisunya vacanayak nokiya yuttēya.  
 Yaṭat piriseyin abhiyukta śiṣyādī kisivak haṭa jāti gotrādiyen  
 gaṭa nobiniya yuttēya. Kalaha vigraha vaḍanā kūya  
 vākkriyāvak nokaṭa yuttēya. Yauvana madādīn matva keḷi  
 sinā ādiyen dāvas noyāviya yuttēya. Maṇḍa deyakinudu  
 upakāra vūvan sihi kaṭa yuttēya. Satatayen avakāsa nātāt  
 pohō dāvas novaradavā ē ē pansale visū pamāṇa hāma denā  
 ekatva sasara kalakirīmaṭa śraddhāva vāḍīmaṭa nisi dharma  
 sākacchā kaṭa yuttēya. Dina cariyā sekhiyā ādi dharmayan  
 da perasēma bhāvitākaṭa yuttēya. Vat pirit kīmehi ugannā  
 dharmayehi tunuruvan vāḍīn piḍīn ādiyehi apramāda viya  
 yuttēya. Tamā piṇisa ho nātīn piṇisa ho ran ridī ādi  
 akāpa vastu nopiḷigata yuttēya. Ladahot pin piṇisa  
 parityāga kaṭa yuttēya. Gihi janayangē geval vala novisiya  
 yuttēya. Trṣṇā doṣa novādiya yuttēya, yanādīn yam yam

sammatayak pūrvayehi karaṇa laddē vī nam ē siyallen pramāda  
doṣayakin biṇḍi giya yamak ātnam eya āti lesa kiyā āyati  
saṃvarayehi pihiṭṭā pāpayaṭa avakāśa notabā visiya yuttēya.  
E hāra siyallaṭa aihalaṇṇika pāralaṇṇika sampat sādā denu  
piṇisa vyāyāma karaṇa māgē pamaṇa nodāna nokalakiṇṇa mā nisā  
melō paralō dekaṭa vū vāda sālakiya yuttēya, mavpiyan kerehi  
pavā ātāma daru kenek pamaṇa nodāna kalakireti. Mavpiyō  
sahanaya kereti. Emen mamada siyallata mā nisā melō paralō  
deken vāḍak mut avāḍak novana sē maitri sitin kṣamā karami  
mē āsū viṭa ovunovun kerehi biṇḍi siṭi kenek āti nam satuṭu  
kaṇḍulen prīti mukhayen apa piyāṇa ki lesin maitri koṭa  
maitrī Budun dakumhayi hāma denama kṣamā kaṭa yuttēya.  
Mē vaṭṭoru patraya sāma saṅga silvat tānma liyā tama tamangē  
ata tabā gena pohoyen pohoyaṭa baṇa kiyā kelavara mē  
vaṭṭoruva kiyavā pūrvayen mā visin kaṭa avavāda dharmānukūlava  
tama tamaṇṭa vāṭahena pamaṇa vacanayan da ekkoṭa gānmen  
apramāda vuvahot māgen melova paralova dekenma labana yahapata  
da Nirvāṇa pura praveśa vīmaṭa da kārāṇa vannēya.  
E vagat mesēma,  
Mē avavāda anusāsanā vaṭṭoruva āri Buddha varṣayen dedahas  
desiya sātṭā tunaṭa pāmiṇi mē varṣayehi poson masa pura  
dasaveni sikurādā liyā evūyē maṇḍak maitriyehi anusas salakana  
Vālivita Saranankara sāmi vamaṇa".

(The original letter is in the possession of  
Vālivita Vipassi Thera of the Malvatta Temple,  
Kandy.)

Appendix No. 3.

Apaṭa guruva vāḍasiṭṭiya Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera  
 unnānsē Saṅgurankitaḍi Vīraparākrama Narēndrasimha  
 maharajānaṇhaṭa kramānukūla līma kīmen arthayen dharmayen  
 prayōjavatva vāḍa siṭṭiyāya. Gaskon adikāramat vāḍi  
 karuṇāva ātuva kāvya prabandha ādiyen vāḍi prayōjana  
 ātuva hāḍi yedī siṭṭiyāya. Peraliyak sadi sūniyamak  
 arabayā novē. Duk gāna gena siṭṭiya ayaṭa udahasak āviṭa  
 varada vātena hāṭiyāṭa adikāramat māruvāya. Sāmaṇera  
 unnānsēt apavat kara dāmuvāya. Esē yedunu pasu Sūriyagoḍa  
 gamat Uḍapoḷa appuṭa lēbī nādāyin ṭat bohō higa pāḍu vunāya.  
 Mahā rājottamayāṇan ukutva Vijayarājasimha maharajāṇan  
 rājyayaṭa pāmiṇi pasu mā visin māgē gurun vahansēgē gam  
 bim mūlāsiva nāyinta higa pāḍu velā tibena sāṭi sāla kalāma  
 ē sāma nāyan hirava siṭṭi tānvalin hiren āra gam bimut māgē  
 kāmāti hāṭiyāṭa kiyā maṭa lābunāya. Eyin Sūriyagoḍa  
 hiṭavāpu nāyanṭa vīyen hālen baten piḷiyen mudalen gavayin  
 kāti udalu maṇḍā ādiyen gurun vahansē venvuṭa saṅgraha  
 koṭa gamat sadā samanvā dī magen nākenekungenvat vaṭinvat  
 upadravayak nātiva sāpasē siṭṭimaṭa sadā hāmadāma maṭa  
 upakāra karaṇḍa bāri nisāt Vihārē naṭabunvana nisāt kāṭa  
 bhārekaramdō kiyā kalpanā koṭa māgē bānā vana Vālivīṭa

kuḍā tanaṭa nāyan saha vihārayat bhāra kaḷāya. Māgē  
 adahasata anukūlava gurun vahansēgē nāyanṭat saṅgraha  
 koṭa lovaṭa gamaṭat baṇin dahamin anusāsanā koṭa  
 siyallangen noguṇayak noasā pahadavāgena mahat vāravāyamin  
 Teldeniyē Sittara nayidē lavā viharē jarāvāsa aravā śrī  
 suddha śakarāja varṣayen ekvā dahas hasiya hāttā navayaṭa  
 pāmiṇi mema varṣayehi poson masa pura pasaloṇak nam tithiya  
 lat brahaspatindā netra pūjā siddha vana dā ahala gam vala  
 dānamitiyan ātuluva satpuruṣayangē ārādhanā āthuva mā  
 genvā gena mā siṭṭinā tānēdī ridī hārsiya asūvaka barapān  
 demin maṭa pin dunnāya. Curuvarayinut sihi karalā pin  
 dunnāya. Mesē kaḷa upakārayaṭa māgē sita ati santōṣa  
 unāya. Sūriyagoḍa viharagama unvahansēgē gihi nāyanṭama  
 misa vaṭin kenekunṭa denavat novē. Min matut māge bānā  
 vana kuḍā tanaḡē jīvitaya tibenaturē ē tana vadāḷa deyak  
 ikut nokara melō paralō dekinma labana yahapatat ē tanaḡē  
 abhiprā lesinma kīkaruva sāvoma ekatuva siṭṭinṭa onāya.  
 Mema kuḍā tanaḡē vāra vāyamin Sūriyagoḍa viharaya saśrīka  
 kaḷa sāṭṭit ahala pahala gamvala satpurisa samāgam bohō  
 koṭa aṭasil pansil dī yahapatchi pihituvā lovaṭa kala  
 yahapatat guru paramparāvaṭa kaḷa upakārayat mata anukūlava

māgē adahasatā noviruddhava dharma vinayaṭṭa.....  
 ātuva paralova sihi ātuva sikkābava.....vasana  
 bavat dāka mē gurukam pavatintā mē pravṛttiya saṅgharāja  
 unnānsē sūriyagoḍa unnānsēya kiya mema tanaṭṭa min  
 matu.....kiya yutuyi.

(The original letter is in the possession of  
 Ven. Vāḷiviṭṭa Vipassi Thera, of the  
 Malwatte Temple, Kandy.)

Appendix No. 4.

Māgē śiṣyanuśiṣya paramparāva pavatīna turu  
mā karaṇa avavāda nam:-

Buḍuva paḷamukoṭṭa <sup>ad</sup>vālavū 'dve me bhikk<sup>h</sup>ave'  
yanādīn dhamsak pāvatum sūtrayehi pravrajitayan visin  
noseviya yutu vū antadvaya viśeṣayen dānagena vastukāma  
klēśa kāmāyena duruva upasampadā mālakayehi anusāsanā  
kaḷa satara niśraya sihi ātīva ehima kī satara akaraṇīya  
dharmayanṭa ḷaṇṇovā "kikīva aṇḍaṇ - pe - dhanam  
caje - pe - caje naro dhamma manussaranto" yanādīn  
sihi keremin jīvitayaṭṭat vadā sādārayen rakimin saptāpat-  
tiskandhayāṭṭa kī lesa asā balā igena yam ahētuvakin satara  
pārājikāven ekak vuṇi nam lajjā novī vinaya dannā kenekun  
idiriye āti sāṭi kiya pārājikāva sabbāva tibē nam melova  
piṇisa bhikkhūn samaga nosiṭṭa upāsakava hō sāmaṇera va hō  
pirisidu dasa sil purā niven pātuva muḷā noveyi. Anguttara  
aṭṭvā accharā saṃghāta sūtra aṭṭvāvē elesa dakinṭa āta.

Garukāpattiyak vuṇi nam vinaya dānavunṭa kiya  
parivāsādiyen nāgiṭṭuva mānava, bahubhāṇḍika novuva mānava.

Sesu sikkāpadavala ē ē tāna kī lesa piḷipādda  
mānava.

Thūpārāmayehi adhika dāvasak siṅgiya mahāterun  
vāhansē mitra tāna samaga siṅgā giya sāṅgiyē an vihārayakāṭa  
yaṅṭa nikmunā vāgē sakunopamāven sallekhaṇa vāḍuva mānava.

Dasa dhamma sūtra karaṇiya metta sūtra  
dhammadāyāda sūtrādiyehi vadāḷa alpecca saṁtuṣṭatādī  
tapō guṇayehi āluna mānava. Parinirvāṇa sūtrayehi  
vadāḷa aparihāṇiya dharmayan āśraya kaḷa mānava. Hāma  
lesinma mṛdu vuva mānava. "Tadahu pabbajitō - pe -  
sampaṭicchāmi muddhanā" yi sāriyut svāmīnvahansēgē  
avavāda pratigrahaṇaya hā ratnāvaliyehi poḷō kampā  
karavamin budun idiriyehi sāla kaḷa nava guṇaya pātuva  
mānava. Esē ē ē potvala varṇaṇā kaḷa tapō guṇa puramin  
śāstrayaṭa vāḍi ādara ātīva dānā tānagē doṣā'doṣa nobalā  
yaṭatva uganimin paravāḍa piṇisa ē śāstrayehida lōbha nokaṭa  
uganṭa pilivan śiṣyayangē varada nosoyā uganvā hātpasin  
baṇaṭama anukūlave paralovama balā siyu piṇsidu sil  
piruva mānava.

Pāṇsukūla dhārīmen cīvara āriyavaṇṣayada siṅgā  
vālaṇḍīmen hevat "uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya" yaṇādīn vadāḷa  
lesin gepiḷivelin siṅgā vālaṇḍā piṇḍapātārya vaṇṣayada  
vanayehi ruk mula viśīmen sēnāsana ārya vaṇṣayada "Idha  
bhikkhave bhikkhu eraṇṇagatōvā" yaṇādīn vadāḷa lesin ārya  
vaṇṣa sūtra aṭuvāva hā viśuddhi mārgaya pratipatti saṁgrahaya



vimukti saṃgrahaya yaṇādī kī bhāvanārya vaṃśaya yana  
 satara ārya vaṃśayehi mahat ādara ātīva bāluva mānava  
 piḷipāduva mānava visuddhi mārgādiyehi kī baṇama guru  
 koṭa gata mānava.

Medā atarehi paralovaṭa bhaya nāti pravrajitayan  
 visin mahecchatāyen abhimānayan kusīta bhāvayen malina  
 kaḷa sāsānaya māgē śiṣya putrayan visin alpecchatāyen  
 anabhimānayan satara samyak pradhāna vīryayen babuluvā  
 metē budun novaradavā dakinṭa numuḷāva kāla kriyāvaṭa  
 nisiva visuva mānavāyi mē anusāsānāva keḷē saṅgha pīṭṭ  
 vū saṅgharāja svāmīn (visini) nivan piḷivet kāmāti māgē  
 śiṣya putrayō mā balā siṭinnāk men (mē) bāluva mānava.

(Original letter is in the possession of Vālivīṭa  
 Vipassi Thera, Malvatta Vihara, Kandy.)

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